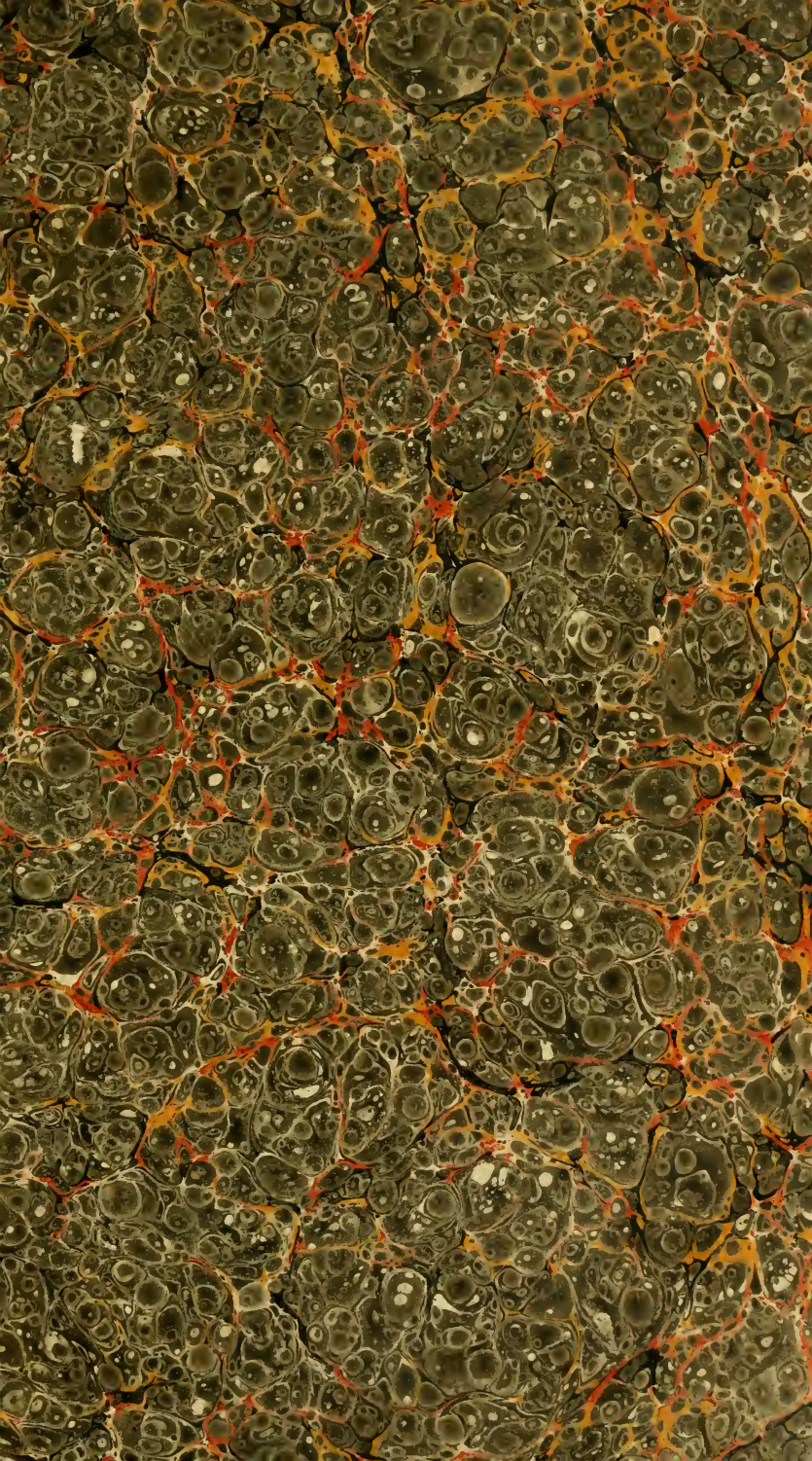




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HISTORICAL RESEARCHES
INTO THE
POLITICS, INTERCOURSE, AND TRADE
OF THE
CARTHAGINIANS, ETHIOPIANS,
AND EGYPTIANS.

BY A. H. L. HEEREN,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

VOL. II.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED THROUGHOUT, AND TO
WHICH IS NOW FIRST ADDED AN INDEX, A LIFE OF
THE AUTHOR, NEW APPENDIXES, AND OTHER
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P R E F A C E.

THE history of ancient Egypt is in a particular manner connected with its monuments. It is only since these have become better known, and have been more closely examined, that a clearer light has begun to spread over the nation that erected them. A history, however, founded upon monuments, or rather blended with them, must in many respects assume a different character from those compiled from written authorities. Now, although I do not profess to give in the following researches a proper history of Egypt, yet as they are wholly upon historical subjects, and are in the most intimate manner connected with history, a farther exposition of the peculiarity of such a history can be nowhere more in place than here; where indeed it seems required for the information of those whose notions are not very clear upon the subject.

The monuments which here come under consideration are principally monuments of architecture, to which sculptures and inscriptions, though they more or less ornament them, only appear as subordinate. We shall not leave these unexamined; but must first be allowed to consider the monuments themselves, un-

connected with any other object, as sources of history.

That they in a certain sense possess this character cannot be denied. A monument bears witness of a fact more clearly and certainly than could be done by the statement of a writer. This fact is, that the people who erected this monument, had attained to a certain degree of civilization, without which they could not have erected it. But this degree of civilization we do not learn from a description; it is set forth in the monument, placed as it were before our eyes. It is true the monument does not display the whole of their civilization; but, if it be of any magnitude, it relates much respecting it, as it exhibits not merely a specimen of mechanical skill, but also of the taste, of the manner of life, of religion, etc. It supplies us with a certain rule by which to judge of the civilization of the nation that erected it.

A single monument may do all this. But where a series of them exists they do much more. We observe in them the progress and decline of art among the people, as well as of every thing connected with it; they may therefore, to a certain extent, become authorities for the history of the civilization of a nation. To what extent? This depends upon their difference at different periods, upon their number and nature.

Monuments moreover become in another manner, and in another respect, the authorities

for the history of a nation. Every monument, which is important from its magnitude and nature, is usually accompanied by a tradition, a mythus. As soon as it attracts attention, the beholder naturally desires and endeavours to learn its origin, its builder, its destination. And those are never wanting who believe themselves able, from whatever source they may have obtained their accounts, to give information respecting these matters. If the monuments are of a religious kind, temples or sanctuaries (and these form by far the most numerous class), there are specially attached to them appointed servants, the priests, who preserve and communicate these traditions, which then become interwoven with the history of the nation. Even a part of the earliest Roman history rested upon such a temple-tradition; such as that of Coriolanus upon the story of the temple of *Fortuna Muliebris*. These are preserved in the memory of the vulgar: they may be varied and embellished; but nothing can justify us, without farther examination, to consider them as mere fables. He who maintains this, must deny the possibility of a true account respecting the founder of a monument being ever preserved. And who will take this task upon himself? That, however, in making use of them the rules of sound criticism must be kept in view, I need scarcely add.

In the sense thus far given, monuments are to be considered as sources of history only so

far as they are mere pieces of architecture. But they become so in a higher degree if they are likewise furnished with works of sculpture,—with representations of remarkable events; and still more so if they contain inscriptions. The works of sculpture are certainly of themselves intelligible, so far as to make known the nature of the subject which they represent,—warlike transactions, objects of worship, sacrifices, processions, etc.; but not the particular circumstances, unless these are clearly pointed out by some special token. This is done by the inscriptions, when they designate the persons, the place, and the time: how far they do this depends upon the paucity or copiousness of their details, and the whole upon their intelligibility.

From the principles here laid down it is evident, that the history of a nation may be so closely connected with its monuments, that these may become the chief source of it. But if we imagine a history resting entirely upon them, it will assume a peculiar character. Together with the monuments will naturally arise a series of traditions referring to them. The monuments speak by themselves, their language is strong, but vague and laconic. Tradition becomes their interpreter; but it goes no farther than to the founders of the monuments, and the explanation of them where they contain pictorial representations. The monuments, however, only belong to individual rulers, the events only to single points of time. Even though a series of

events or transactions be represented, as is found to be the case upon certain monuments, each recounts its own particular history. It therefore follows, that one of the chief characteristics of a history resting upon monuments, must be its being almost entirely made up of fragments. A tolerably continuous or complete narrative must not be expected here. To this is to be added, that tradition, although probably more communicative in earlier times, continually concentrates itself more upon the monuments; since in them it finds its chief support, and refers to the same hero or ruler what belongs to many. Hence it happens that we have a history of those rulers only who have left monuments, or are said to have left them.

We have laid it down as the first principal characteristic of a history founded on monuments, that it must, from its nature, be composed of fragments. Let us now add the second; which is, that (unless where the dates are expressly stated upon them) it cannot be strictly chronological. No doubt a certain order of time may be perceived in the progress and decline of art, in the events represented, and even in the greater or less preservation of the monuments; but a history founded upon monuments can at the best only reckon according to centuries—to attempt to bring it within one or even twenty years would be a fruitless undertaking, and only lead to error.

A third characteristic, finally, of a history

resting on monuments is, that it always borders on the marvellous. The monuments themselves, and this in proportion as they are larger and more extraordinary, lend it this character; and who can be ignorant of the inclination of mankind to exaggerate and embellish the facts comprised in the traditions of a nation? This is certainly closely connected with, and partly dependent upon, the poetry of a people; it will therefore, of course, be less where this is confined to hymns and songs, as was the case, so far as we know, among the Egyptians.

This is the sum of what monuments may fulfil, without any other aid, as sources of history. Of this we have an example in the Mexican and Peruvian monuments; although here the destruction of the ancient priesthood has deprived us of their traditions. But the case is very different where the monuments can be compared with historians, even though these should be of no higher character than mere annalists. Here it is that these monuments appear to the greatest advantage, since they give, as it were, a reality to the narration. In how much clearer a light would the monuments of those American nations appear, and what light would they again have spread over those people, had their annals been preserved!

It was necessary to lay before the reader these remarks previous to the application of them to Egyptian history. This is also a history resting upon monuments; and although certain writers

in this case come to our assistance, it preserves, nevertheless, the peculiar character, that it is chiefly, and in the closest manner, connected with monuments, because even the statements made by historians almost entirely flow from this very source. Those of Herodotus do so altogether, those of Diodorus for the most part; and of the work of Manetho, drawn from the temple archives, only scanty extracts have been preserved. It follows, therefore, of necessity, that the history of ancient Egypt can only be fragmentary: and in this point of view it must be considered and treated. The truth of this remark will become so apparent in these researches, that I consider it would be superfluous to say any thing more respecting it.

Moreover, a strictly chronological history cannot, with the means we now possess, be hoped for. Herodotus here gives us no determinate continuous series of dates; Diodorus reckons, indeed, according to generations; but we meet with many indefinite chasms; and in Manetho we have besides to contend with the numerous errors of transcribers in the numbers. And although upon the monuments certain representations have been preserved, bearing some reference to chronology, yet no continued train of dates has been discovered. Our only resource, therefore, is, to ascertain, as nearly as possible, by comparison, some of the principal events; and to arrange the order of others, preceding or following them, in a general way; not by years

or by decades, but by centuries. Where there are no corresponding annals of other nations, this is all that is required; and history is not falsified by a variation of a half-century or a century in the date of particular events.

But, although they afford no determinate chronology, those vast monuments, which for centuries have stood forth as the dumb, yet convincing witnesses of the grandeur of the ancient Pharaohs, have, as it were, now begun to speak, since the attempts to decipher the inscriptions have not been altogether ineffectual. The nature of this work demands that I should give my opinion upon the success of these attempts; and this is done in my preliminary discourse. The reader will there find the reasons which induce me to give my assent to the method of M. Champollion, and how far I agree with him, without pledging myself to the correctness of each of his interpretations; but at the same time I beseech the reader not to pass unnoticed the great precaution with which I have made use of his decipherings. I have confined myself to the adoption of some royal titles or names in the second part of the chapter on Thebes, which in themselves are already known from Manetho; but which, as they are now read upon the monuments, give some clew for ascertaining the builders of them. For this purpose I have had recourse to the great work of Champollion, his *Précis*, and not to the scattered information in periodicals. Since this work appeared, the same

learned writer has commenced the publication of a *Panthéon Egyptien*; which contains engravings with the descriptions of Egyptian deities. But I have already upon another occasion explained that these researches are foreign to my purpose. The accuracy or inaccuracy of the legend of the names of the Pharaohs, of which alone I have made use, is not connected with this subject. Even the opponents, therefore, of the interpretations of M. Champollion cannot charge me with having built my researches upon a method of interpretation not yet proved. Nothing is built upon it. Some of the results are brought forward merely as confirmations of points already ascertained; but from attempts at deciphering particular words and names I have altogether abstained.

The promised work (*Rudimenta Hieroglyphices*) of a German scholar, PROF. SEIFFARTH of Leipsic, without which it would be rash to criticise any of his interpretations, has not yet appeared. But from what is stated above it is evident, that neither these nor any similar attempt can have the slightest bearing upon these researches, farther than as regards the reading of the names of the Pharaohs. The *Adversaria*, published by the same scholar from the papers of my deceased friend SPOHN, relate only to the deciphering of the demotic and hieratic methods of writing: and therefore have no con-

nection with the subjects upon which I have treated.

No other part of my works has, in the present new edition (the fourth), undergone so much alteration as this: nearly one half of it has been rewritten. Every effort has been made, so far as my means and skill would allow, to improve it; and abundance of materials have been afforded me by the splendid works and travels which have appeared during the ten years which have elapsed since the publication of the last edition. I hope my readers will therein find the best, and—as by always quoting my authorities I have given them an opportunity of judging for themselves—the most satisfactory answer to the violent attacks which have been made, and continue to be made, even by men whom one would expect, from their situation, to be interested in the promotion of science.

The appended ground-plan of ancient Thebes, as well as the map of Egypt and Nubia, as far as the second cataract near Wadi Halfa (the remainder will be found in the map of ancient Africa in the foregoing volume), are from the skilful hand of my friend Prof. C. Otfr. Müller. I need scarcely add, that these maps are constructed expressly for this work.

March 12th, 1826.

EGYPTIANS.

EGYPTIANS.

No nation in the world has taken so much pains to transmit its memory to posterity as the Egyptians. In its marvellous and stupendous monuments, whether erected on the earth, or excavated from its bowels, it has left behind not merely proofs of its greatness, but has endeavoured, by covering them with sculptured representations of its religion, its public affairs, and even of private life with its numerous occupations, to hand down the remembrance of them to the latest generations. Its endeavours have not been in vain. The attention of the present age has been strongly drawn towards it, and it is now, as it were, resuscitated from the grave, and lives before us. Notwithstanding this, the antiquities of no nation are wrapped in deeper obscurity. Even its emblematical representations are, in a great measure, to us so many problems. A more interesting matter, however, than even this, is the method by which that people expressed and committed their ideas to writing; and before we can venture upon the history and antiquity of the Egyptians, it is necessary we should throw some light upon this

obscure subject, and explain what has hitherto been done, towards dispersing the mist in which it has so long been enveloped.

From what is said by ancient writers, and from the monuments themselves, no doubt can remain but that there was more than one kind of writing in use among the Egyptians. Herodotus distinguishes between the sacred writing and the popular¹. It would be sufficiently clear, that, by the first, the hieroglyphic or picture-writing must be understood; even if it were not established by that celebrated relick of antiquity the Rosetta stone, which exhibits both methods of writing. It must also be sufficiently evident, that, if both kinds of writing were already in common use, in the time of Herodotus, they must both have belonged to an age much anterior; and that, therefore, the popular writing was even then a writing dating up to the period of the Pharaohs. Hieroglyphic writing is of the greatest importance in an inquiry into Egyptian antiquities, because, in the time of the Pharaohs, it was certainly used in preference, and, as far as we know, exclusively for public monuments; not a single trace having yet been discovered of any other sort of writing, upon any monument belonging to that period.

Now, as the most interesting part of Egyptian history is closely connected with its public mo-

¹ HEROD. ii. 36. Between γράμματα ἱερᾶ and δημόσια. An attempt was made, some time ago, by ZOEGA, to prove that the first included hieroglyphics, but not the hieratic writing: *De Obeliscis*, p. 428.

numents, it becomes the more important, that we should be well informed respecting the writing found upon them; that we should clearly comprehend its nature, and the relation it bears to other kinds of writing. From the time of Kircher, Jablonsky, and others, there certainly has been no lack of attempts to decipher hieroglyphic writing. How little has been done by them is sufficiently shown by the confession of one, who devoted no small portion of his life to its study, the fruits of which are honourably preserved in more than one work, and particularly in his celebrated treatise on obelisks². Yet he frankly and undisguisedly confesses, that in the interpretation of hieroglyphics, very little progress has been made. However different the means pursued, by which those men endeavoured to obtain this object, they all ended in one common supposition; namely, that hieroglyphical writing is merely an allegorical picture-writing, whose characters, not representing sounds, but merely ideas, are altogether of a different nature from our alphabetical letters. Could, however, a writing of this kind be imagined—which at best could only be very limited and incomplete—a key would be required for understanding it, which, if once lost, we cannot see where and how it could be recovered; for the little resemblance, between the allegoric signs and the objects, would by no means be sufficient.

² ZOËGA, *De Obeliscis*, p. 464.

I do not, therefore, seem to have been wrong in the early opinion I gave, that if this be admitted, though perhaps some hieroglyphics might, yet no general hieroglyphical writing could ever be deciphered³.

Does it however follow that the figures, composing hieroglyphics, are only and exclusively signs of ideas? May they not also, at least in part, as well represent sounds, and consequently letters? This cannot be contradicted; for there is no reason why a figure, say a hand, or a beast, may not represent a sound quite as well as a simple or complex line. It is solely upon the solving of this question, that the present study of hieroglyphics hinges. Should the conjecture be realized, should farther research lead to the discovery of an alphabet, we shall be able *to read*; and if we may venture to assume, that the language in which the hieroglyphics are composed is not entirely lost—that the ancient Egyptian language is, at least to a certain degree, preserved in the Coptic—we shall be enabled *to translate*, and consequently, *to understand*.

Although by these investigations the object of the inquiry may be rendered clear, yet we are naturally led to ask, in what way it first came to be conjectured, and then to be believed, that hieroglyphics are not merely allegorical picture-writings, but contain as well alphabetical characters? To those who would adopt the

³ *Ideen*, ii. p. 477, the earlier (*German*) editions.

first system a difficulty opposes itself at the first step, which cannot be surmounted. The application of the hieroglyphic writing to monumental inscriptions would be impossible without the frequent occurrence of proper names, whether of deities, kings, or private persons. Now, what method is there by which proper names can be expressed by allegorical writing, when they happen to be void of signification! Such names as Lion, Wolf, and the like, may be represented by pictures, but how can those of Henry, Lewis, and such like⁴? But supposing, nevertheless, that names are to be sought for upon monuments, where are they to be looked for? How could it be demonstrated that exactly this or that group of hieroglyphic figures contains proper names?

Nothing but a most fortunate concurrence of circumstances could have led to a step beyond this. The famous Rosetta stone, now in the British Museum, contains a *trilingual* (or rather *bilingual*), inscription in hieroglyphics, in the popular writing of the Egyptians, and in Greek. In this many proper names are found in the Greek character, of which, unfortunately, from

[⁴ The *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliii. p. 119, says, "Heeren, as far as we know, was the first who observed the impossibility of representing proper names by symbolic figures. Here, as elsewhere, necessity was probably the mother of invention. Signs may represent genera, and classes, and orders, but can scarcely discriminate individuals. The symbols of royalty, added to the sign of the man, designate the king. The victorious, or the wise, or the religious king may be distinguished from the weak or tyrannical; but what adjunct will show that we mean king George, or king William, rather than king Henry or king Edward?"]

the mutilated state of the stone, only one, that of Ptolemy, remains in hieroglyphics. Had the other names been preserved, a comparison of the signs of which they were composed, would at once have led to a certain conclusion. Happily the basis of an obelisk was discovered at Philæ, containing likewise an inscription in hieroglyphics and some Greek writing, probably the translation of, or something relating to, what precedes it. This important relick was purchased by the late Sir Joseph Banks, and sent to England by the unfortunate Belzoni. Besides the name of Ptolemaus, expressed in the same signs as it is upon the Rosetta stone, there is upon this the name of Cleopatra⁵. These two names contain six letters in common; and by comparison it is found that the consonants PTL and the vowels AEO are represented in both by the same pictures. Hence these are concluded to have been signs of sound, and consequently letters; the signification of the remaining characters of the two names, after this, becomes easy; and a part of the hieroglyphic alphabet is of course deciphered. These signs are called *phonetic*.

But another very remarkable circumstance remains to be noticed. The two names we have just mentioned were, upon both the monuments, separated from the rest of the inscription by being enclosed in an oval border, or, as Cham-

⁵ See upon this subject the works of CHAMPOLLION, hereafter quoted.

pollion calls it, a *cartouche*. It is, therefore, evident, that the names of kings and queens were usually distinguished in this manner. Oval enclosures of a similar kind frequently occur upon Egyptian monuments. It certainly was not made out that they always contained royal names, and no others; yet it must be allowed, that it seemed to afford strong grounds for the opinion, that such at least was often the case. The next step, therefore, was to apply the alphabetical key, thus far discovered, to these cartouches; and a succession of names, borne by rulers of various periods, by Cæsars, Ptolemies, Persians, and even by Pharaohs, were speedily deciphèred. Each of these cartouches was usually accompanied by a second, in which was soon discovered the title and surname of the kings, as they were adopted after known deities. This led to the conclusion, not only that this kind of writing must have remained in use, unchanged, throughout the different periods of the Egyptian empire, but also, that some of those monuments which had heretofore been attributed solely to the Pharaohs, did not belong to them, but to the Ptolemies and Cæsars. It likewise established the most magnificent and ancient of the works to be due to the Pharaohs, whose names were legible upon them. A light has thus been thrown upon the history of those distant ages, and many parts of it verified in such a way as could hardly have been expected; the opinions of those who had ejected the Pha-

raohs from the page of history, and merely considered them as fabulous or symbolical beings, fell therefore at once to the ground; their monuments, with their names sculptured thereon, stand ready to confute them!

Every lover of Egyptian antiquities must be aware, that the first steps which led to this important and interesting discovery were made by the learned Dr. Young of Cambridge, who first seized the idea of *phonetic* hieroglyphics, and applied it to the names of Ptolemy and Berenice⁶. It is, however, to the exertions of a learned

⁶ What share in the merit of the discovery must be ascribed to Dr. Young, as compared with his own, M. Champollion has attempted to show at the beginning of his work. To that and to the treatise of Dr. Young I must refer my readers, as the rising dispute upon this head has nothing to do with these researches.

[The translator cannot let pass this opportunity of stating, that, as far as he can judge, after a fair examination of the subject, there does not seem the slightest evidence to set aside Dr. Young's claim to the entire discovery of the phonetic system of hieroglyphics. "The method adopted by him for deciphering the enchorial and hieroglyphic texts of the Rosetta inscription is a masterpiece of ingenious contrivance; and he has the honour of having been the *first to demonstrate*, that in the latter as well as in the former, *certain characters*, whatever may have been their original import, *were employed to represent sounds*." This opinion of the Edinburgh reviewer, which is merely just to the fame of Dr. Young, has been echoed by the learned of nearly all Europe. M. Klaproth, one of the first scholars in Europe, says "Le docteur Young, Anglais, est sans contredit le premier auteur de cette découverte. Le célèbre Zoéga avait déjà soupçonné qu'une partie des signes hiéroglyphiques pouvoit être employée alphabétiquement, mais l'honneur d'avoir démontré ce fait appartient au docteur Young. . . . Disputer à ce savant la priorité de cette découverte serait aussi absurde que de vouloir soutenir, que celui qui le premier mêla du salpêtre avec du soufre et du charbon n'a pas été l'inventeur du poudre, mais bien celui qui s'est servi pour la première fois de ce mélange comme moteur pour les projectiles." KLAPROTH, *Préfaces Collection des Monumens Egyptiens de M. Palin*.

That the fame of the first discovery indisputably belongs to Dr. Young,

Frenchman, Champollion, that we are mainly indebted for its farther progress, and for the results to which it has led⁷. M. Champollion was well prepared for this, as he had ardently pursued the study of the Coptic language and literature almost from his infancy; one of his early works was the *Restoration of the Geography of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, with its ancient names, compiled from MSS. in the royal library at Paris⁸, a work which must have increased his knowledge of the Coptic language, and laid a foundation for new researches.

is fully made out in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xliii. p. 114, etc.; *Edinb. Review*, vol. xlv. p. 120, etc.; and *Encyclop. Metrop.* article *Hieroglyphics*, etc. The following circumstances seem to set this matter at rest. In the first place, there is the direct testimony of Dr. Young himself as to his claim, both in regard to *priority of publication* and *originality of discovery*, which M. Champollion has not yet answered. See *Edinb. Review*, l. c., where this is clearly shown. In the second place, there is the following proof equally unanswered. In the year 1821, after the discovery of Dr. Young had been made known, Champollion published, at Grenoble, a volume, *De l'Écriture Hiératique des Anciens Egyptiens*, in which he distinctly states his conviction, that the *hieroglyphics are not phonetic*, “que les signes hiéroglyphiques sont des signes de choses, et non des signes de sons.” This volume has been withdrawn from circulation on the pretext that the author was actuated by “le crainte de blesser les scrupules de quelques personnes pieuses.” M. Klaproth asserts, that there is positively nothing in the volume which could produce that impression; and that the real motive for its suppression was the unfortunate avowal which decides at once the controversy.]

⁷ Champollion the younger (his elder brother is M. Champollion Figeac, likewise celebrated for his researches into Egyptian antiquity), first gave, in September 1822, a preliminary account of this system to the *Académie des Inscriptions*, in a letter addressed to the secretary, M. Dacier: *Lettre à Mons. Dacier, relatif à l'Alphabet des Hiéroglyphes phonétiques*, Paris, 1822: this was soon followed by his greater work, *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des Anciens Egyptiens*, Paris, 1824; second and improved edition, Paris, 1829, 2 vols. 8vo., and a volume of plates, which forms the basis of the following inquiry.

⁸ *Égypte sous les Pharaons*, tom. i. ii.; Paris, 1814, with a map.

An important question here naturally occurs: *Are these phonetic pictures, or hieroglyphics, chosen arbitrarily, or are they subject to some general law?* In the first case, it could scarcely be hoped to apply them farther than to the deciphering of names; the discovery of a general law led to the idea of a more general application. A knowledge, however, of the language would necessarily be the first step; as in this must be sought the origin of their signification; and it is only by the help of the Coptic that this can be attained. By this it was soon perceived, that it might be regarded as a confirmed conventional rule: *that signs, used as letters, representing certain sounds, are always the image of an external object, the name of which, in the old Egyptian language, begins with the letter which it represents.* Thus, for example, if we wished, in our language, to introduce a writing of this kind, a hand might represent the sound *h*, a dog the sound *d*, a staff the sound *s*, etc.

This rule, therefore, certainly furnishes us with a key for the farther deciphering the hieroglyphic alphabet, to whatever extent we may be able to unlock it. As the explications of M. Champollion, however, may be known but to few readers, I judge it necessary, before proceeding any farther, accurately to unfold them. I shall do this in a series of single propositions, as nearly as I can in the words of the author⁹.

⁹ [I have compared this with the last edition of the *Précis* of CHAMPOLLION, and made such alterations as I deemed necessary. *Trans.*]

“The writing of the Egyptians consist of three distinct kinds ; the *hieroglyphic*, or sacred writing ; the *hieratic*, or writing of the priests ; and the *demotic*, in common use.”

“A. 1. The hieroglyphic writing consists in the simultaneous use of three very distinct species of signs :—(a) of *picture signs*, or representations of the objects themselves, which they serve to represent : (b) of *symbolical, typical, or enigmatical signs*, representing ideas by physical objects, always bearing some analogy to the idea represented : (c) *phonetic characters*, representing sounds by pictures of physical objects.

“A. 2. The *picture*, and *symbolical* signs are employed in all the texts in a much less proportion than the *phonetic* characters.”

“A. 3. The phonetic characters are real alphabetical signs, *letters*, which express the sounds of the Egyptian words.”

“A. 4. Every phonetic hieroglyphic is the picture of a physical object, the name of which object begins, in the Egyptian language, with the vowel or consonant (*voix ou articulation*) which the sign itself is intended to represent.”

“A. 5. The phonetic characters combine to form words in the same manner as any other alphabet, but they are often placed one over the other, and in various directions, according to the disposition of the text, either in perpendicular columns, or horizontal lines.”

“A. 6. The intermediate vowels of words written in hieroglyphics are often left out,

as in the Hebrew, Phœnician, and modern Arabic."

"A. 7. Every vowel and consonant may, according to the principle laid down in A. 4, be represented by several different phonetic signs, all, however, representing exactly the same sound¹⁰."

"A. 8. The use of one phonetic character rather than another, representing the same sound, was often regulated by the material form of the character made use of, or by the nature of the idea expressed by the word to be written in phonetic characters."

"A. 9. The various hieroglyphic phonetic vowel signs had no more settled sound than the Hebrew aleph (א), the yōdh (י), and the vāv (ו), or the elif (ל), and the waw (ו) of the Arabians."

"A. 10. Abbreviations of phonetic groups are often met with in the hieroglyphic text."

"A. 11. Phonetic characters, the necessary and inseparable elements of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, exist in the most ancient Egyptian texts as well as in the more recent."

"A. 12. I have already determined the sound (*fixé la valeur*) of above a hundred hieroglyphic phonetic characters, among which are those that most frequently occur in the texts of all ages."

"A. 13. All hieroglyphic inscriptions found upon Egyptian monuments belong to one single

¹⁰ [This is questioned by Heeren hereafter. *Trans.*]

and same kind of writing, composed, as we have said (A. 1. *a, b, c*), of three kinds of signs simultaneously employed."

"A. 14. It is proved, by a series of public monuments, that the sacred writing, combining the *picture*, *symbolical*, and *phonetic* signs, was in use, without interruption, from the nineteenth century before our era to the entire conversion of the Egyptians to Christianity, under the dominion of the Romans, when the different Egyptian kinds of writing were displaced by the Coptic, that is to say, by the Greek alphabet increased by a certain number of consonants, taken from the old demotic writing of the Egyptians."

"A. 15. The same ideas are sometimes represented in the same hieroglyphic text, at one time by *picture* signs, at another by *symbolic*, and finally by a group of *phonetic* characters, expressing the word significant of the same idea in the language spoken."

"A. 16. Other ideas are represented, either by a *group* formed of a *picture* and a *symbolic* sign, or by uniting a *picture* or *symbolic* sign with *phonetic* characters."

"A. 17. Certain Egyptian bas-reliefs, or compositions formed of figures of physical beings, and particularly of representations of monsters, grouped and connected, do not belong to the proper hieroglyphic writing. These are purely allegorical, or symbolical scenes, to which the ancients gave the name of *anaglyphs*."

“ A. 18. A number of figures are, however, common to the proper hieroglyphic writing, and to this system of painting, or, if it must be so called, of writing, which produced *anaglyphs*.”

“ A. 19. These anaglyphs seem to be pages of that secret writing, which the ancient Greek and Latin writers tell us, was known only to the priests, and to those whom they initiated in their mysteries. The hieroglyphic writing, on the contrary, was never secret, but known to all the inhabitants of Egypt at all educated.”

“ A. 20. Two new systems of writing sprung in time from the hieroglyphic writing, the *hieratic* and *demotic*; these were invented to facilitate the art of writing, and bring it more into common use.”

“ B. 21. The *hieratic*, or *sacerdotal* writing, was merely a kind of short-hand way of writing the *sacred*, from which it was immediately derived. In this second system the form of the signs is considerably abridged.”

“ B. 22. It consists, properly, of *pictural*, *symbolical*, and *phonetic* signs; but the first two are often replaced either by groups of phonetic characters, or by *arbitrary* characters, which no longer preserve the form of their correspondent sign in the hieroglyphic system.”

“ B. 23. All the *hieratic* manuscripts extant, and we possess some belonging to the epoch of the Pharaohs, of the Greeks and of the Romans, belong to one single system, however different

the shape of the characters may appear at the first inspection."

"B. 24. The use of the *hieratic* writing appears to have been restricted to the transcription of texts relating to sacred or scientific matters, and to a few, but always religious, inscriptions."

"C. 25. The *demotic*, *epistolary*, or *enchorial* writing, is a system quite distinct from the *hieroglyphic* and the *hieratic*, from which it is immediately derived."

"C. 26. The characters used in *demotic* writing are merely simple characters borrowed from the *hieratic* writing."

"C. 27. It excludes almost all pictured signs."

"C. 28. It admits, nevertheless, a certain number of symbolical signs, but only to express some ideas essentially connected with the religious system."

"C. 29. The greater part of every *demotic* text consists of phonetic characters, or *signs of sounds*."

"C. 30. The number of characters used in *demotic* writing are much fewer than in either of the other systems."

"C. 31. In *demotic* writing the intermedial vowels are often suppressed both in Egyptian and foreign words."

"C. 32. The *demotic*, like the writings from which it is derived, may express every consonant or vowel by several signs, very different in form but entirely alike in sound. Nevertheless

the number of these demotic same-sounding characters, is not nearly so great as in the sacred and sacerdotal writing."

"C. 33. The demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphic writing have been simultaneously in use during a long series of ages in every part of Egypt."

These propositions, according to the discoveries of M. Champollion, form the basis upon which the Egyptian system of writing rests. The latter assertions, however, upon the derivation of the hieratic and demotic writing from the hieroglyphic, may be dismissed as not bearing upon the present subject. It may easily be perceived that this can only be decided by comparing and by giving specimens of the characters used in the different methods of writing. This has been done in the work to which I have above referred; and so far as I can judge from that, the author's opinion is fairly established. This, however, was not an original idea of his own; but it had, as he admits, been previously acted upon by a native of Germany, the learned Aulic Counsellor Tychsen.¹¹ It certainly seems the natural way in which the common writing would proceed from hieroglyphics, as soon as the latter contained phonetic signs; some such operation would indeed seem demanded by necessity, as writing ceased to

¹¹ *Précis*, p. 20. Namely in the *Bibl. der altern Litteratur und Kunst*, St. vi. in the treatise upon the alphabetical writing of the ancient Egyptians.

consist of mere sculpture and came into common use. The fact, however, becomes clearly established thereby, that hieroglyphics could not be merely a secret writing of the priesthood, at least not in its whole extent; for the way to its comprehension must have been open in the demotic characters. This however might be, and no doubt was, subject to many limitations. But let this be as it may, the hieroglyphic writing is the only one for our consideration in the present inquiry; the key to which is the key to Egyptian antiquities.

In order to form a proper judgment upon this attempt to decipher hieroglyphic writing, the following questions seem to require consideration: How far does this method of writing correspond with the advances which man in general is enabled to make in the art of writing? Secondly, how far does it agree with the information which has been given us by the ancients, upon the Egyptian methods of writing? Thirdly, how far do the results already obtained by deciphering agree with history?—that is, in a general way, with what in the nature of things might reasonably be expected, and with what is known of ancient Egypt from monuments and writers still extant?

It will at the first glance be seen that this method of writing possesses peculiarities which essentially distinguish it from the merely alphabetical; namely, the mixture of symbolical with alphabetical signs. The course therefore which

the nation took in the improvement of their system of writing was consequently somewhat peculiar; it is not, however, in our power to trace this course by historic documents; for, as upon even the most ancient monuments which remain, this writing seems completely formed, we can only raise such conjectures respecting it as the nature of things suggests. One of the first of these is, that the formation of this writing must certainly have taken place *gradually*. Its natural course could be no other: its first step was the mere representation of objects; and this explains how physical objects came to be adopted as signs in this writing. It must soon have been perceived that every object could not be represented by its proper resemblance, and this naturally led to the second mode of writing; people began to employ these signs from certain similarities, real or merely fanciful, in an allegorical sense; and in this way symbolical writing had its origin. But the most important step still remains, the representation of individual sounds by pictures,—that is, the adoption of phonetic hieroglyphics. The way in which this was attained, is a problem which can only be solved by conjectures. These phonetic signs, though, as being representations of natural objects, they belong to the same class with those which represent ideas, are yet, in their nature, inasmuch as they are signs of sounds, essentially different, and could not proceed from them. Zoëga, an early,

profound, and skilful inquirer into the antiquities of Egypt, and who thought to find there the origin of letters, believed, indeed, he had discovered such a change to have taken place in a species of hieroglyphics, to which he at this time gave the name of phonetic; these were such as were not taken for the *likeness* of the object, but the *sound* of the word¹²; as, for example, if we should signify our word *heart*, by a *heart* and an *eye*. It must however be seen in a moment that these phonetic hieroglyphics are entirely different from those now under consideration, as they denote the sound of the whole word, and not the component sounds, as letters do. It therefore still remained unsettled how this step was got over. The most probable conjecture seems to be, that the want, which must naturally have been felt, of some means of expressing proper names, when these did not happen to have some signification, and which could in no other way be supplied, must have led to it. And if we take into consideration that the hieroglyphics were principally used for monumental inscriptions, in which the names of kings formed an essential part, it will add great weight to this conjecture. This want, especially if it led to phonetic signs in Zoëga's sense, might very well go on till the sound of the whole should be dissolved into its component sounds, and these with the same or like

signs be denoted, as those which had already been in use in the picture-writing. This is all that can now be said upon the matter. The particular pains taken to point out the royal names, by inclosing them in a *cartouche*, or border, goes a great way towards proving, that the signs so inclosed were not symbolic, but rather of the phonetic kind, and to be read as letters.

The adoption of phonetic hieroglyphics, or making them represent sounds, would certainly overcome, in a great degree, the inconveniences which must render a writing composed of merely pictures or symbolic signs almost useless. For though by these a series of separate ideas might be represented, yet it is difficult to conceive how the connection of these ideas, such as the modification of nouns and verbs by declension and conjugation, could be expressed. It seems impossible to write *connectedly* with such signs. And it therefore seems a very natural conjecture, that hieroglyphic writing was never much more than a formal writing for public monuments, on which, besides names and titles, short historical or religious sentences might be expressed¹³. The adoption of hieroglyphics of sound clearly indicates, how, by them, the lesser parts of speech might be represented; and eventually even the variations of nouns. In fact, Champollion shows us, that the gender some-

¹³ *Ideen*, ii. p. 476, former edition.

times is denoted by means of articles¹⁴, and the case by means of *suffixes*. But how the verb, through all its moods, tenses, and numbers, is to be represented, it is indeed almost impossible to imagine, even if we were able to translate the greater number of the signs; and even up to the present time M. Champollion has only succeeded in discovering a representation of the three principal tenses, and the third person. The proposition therefore still may hold good, even after the adoption of hieroglyphics of sound, that this writing was mostly destined for set forms. All that is yet deciphered is strictly limited to such; and it must be still farther explained, before we can judge of how much or how little, was or could be written in it.

It seems therefore to lie in the nature of the Egyptian system of writing, that it must always have remained very imperfect. It never ripened to a complete alphabetical system. Human genius evidently made great efforts to reach so far; it attained not however its object, but seemed to have stopped half way. Why such was the case we can only conjecture; but the reason generally given is the bigotry and narrow-mindedness of the priest caste, and the immutability of any system they had once adopted. As the matter now stands, two great obstacles come in the way and render the reading very difficult.

The first is, that the same images were some-

¹⁴ [First discovered by Dr. Young: see *Edin. Rev.* No. lxxxix. p. 123.]

times used as pictorial, sometimes as alphabetical signs, without there being any certain means of determining to which they belong: this, to be sure, in the deciphering of names, has hitherto occasioned but little embarrassment, as they are composed almost entirely, or altogether, of phonetic hieroglyphics. But whether, hereafter, in reading the larger hieroglyphic texts, greater difficulties will not occur, time and experience alone can show.

But another, and a still greater impediment seems to lie in the manner of representing these phonetic hieroglyphics. This consists, as above (A. 4), in taking always for the sign of the sound which it is wished to represent, the image of some word, which in the common language of the people begins with the same sound. Thus, for example, if we wished in the English language to write London, we might take the picture of a lion to represent the sound of *l*, an oak for *o*, a net for *n*, a dog for *d*, and a nail for *n*, the initial sounds of which would spell the name of the British capital. The Egyptians, however, did not confine themselves to one sign for each sound, but made use of many; all that was necessary was, that the sign should be the image of some object, whose name, in the language spoken, should begin with the sound wished to be expressed; as for example the sound of *b* might be represented by a bird, a book, etc., *m* by a mouth, a man, etc., *p* by a pen, a pail, etc. The number of phonetic hieroglyphics

roglyphics therefore must have been very considerable ; and certainly according to my view were increased without sufficient reason. This could not but embarrass the reader, and especially, if we consider that the signification or value of an image might easily become uncertain, when several words, not beginning with the same sound, might be applied to the same object ; thus, for example, in our language, the image of a horse might be taken for an *h* or an *s*, just as one might happen to think of steed or horse. As the Egyptians spoke the language, they certainly would much more readily master this difficulty than the moderns, who have but a very imperfect knowledge of it ; to read it, nevertheless, must still have been embarrassing even to them. One thing, however, may easily be supposed, and, indeed, seems highly probable, I mean that the number of pictures thus made use of as letters, were gradually diminished by custom, and that they could not be arbitrarily increased. The amount of these phonetic hieroglyphics, according to M. Champollion's discoveries, thus far, does not much exceed a hundred. Where every thing was so firmly and unchangeably settled as among the Egyptians, the art of writing could scarcely form an exception.

The suppression of the vowels, whenever they were not the initial sound of the words, from which the image was taken, cannot be surprising ; it is the case in other Oriental languages,

although, from custom, it may render the reading more difficult to us. It arises from the unsettled state of the sounds of the vowel-signs in use, the clearer and deeper of which are not so distinctly marked as in the European languages.

But admitting, after all that has been said, that writing was very imperfect, yet that will not warrant us to consider it as useless ; and we shall be still less justified in rejecting the whole system, because we meet with a few difficulties, or even apparent contradictions. We do not yet know the whole alphabet of the nation. We shall perhaps find by and by that many signs, which M. Champollion in his alphabet has given to the same sound, may be found to represent different ones. What, indeed, do we know of their gutturals, their breathings, and their dentals ? From our knowledge of the Coptic, it seems highly probable, that the Egyptians had many sounds in their language which we have not in ours. Was it not found necessary, on the first application of the Greek alphabet to the Coptic, to add to it eight new characters ? We scarcely know our letters, and can we expect already to read ? It would be most unreasonable to demand so much, even from the discoverer himself. Here is a writing hitherto unknown (and such a writing !); a language with which we are but very imperfectly acquainted. Of the orthography of the Egyptians we know still less ; and in which many mistakes must have been made, notwithstanding

the greatest care in the copyists;—how then can we hope not to meet here and there with a contradiction; how can it be expected that every letter should agree? This indeed would be the very thing to excite suspicion.

But another consequence incontestably results from this; and that is, that the Egyptians themselves were the inventors of this art, which in their *mythus* of Thot, or Hermes, they ascribe to him. A system of writing connected, in this peculiar manner, with the proper language of a nation could only be invented by the people who spoke it. This leads immediately to a second remark: this system of writing could not reach farther than the language was spoken; it neither was nor could be adopted by any foreign nation.

The second question to be examined, and a favourable answer to which is necessary to establish the theory of M. Champollion, is, does it, or not, agree with the information the ancients have left us on the Egyptian system of writing? Should it be confirmed by what they say, a great weight is at once thrown into the scale in its favour.

The Greek writers have said but little, that has descended to us, on the Egyptian method of writing, with which they certainly were but very imperfectly acquainted. The little that Herodotus, Plato, and a few others say upon it, gives us no information whatever¹⁶. Clemens Alex-

¹⁶ ZOEGA, *De Obeliscis*, p. 426, has collected all these passages together. They all speak of only two kinds of writing, that of the priesthood, and

andrinus, a Christian Father, is the only writer, and he quite incidentally, who has explained himself somewhat more copiously. All who consider the matter, agree that his account is not only the most important, but that there is no other in which are precisely enumerated the different kinds of writing in use among the Egyptians. This, therefore, next deserves our attention. I shall only premise, that what this Father says, carries with it an additional authority from his having himself lived in Egypt, where it would be easy for him to obtain a clear knowledge of that which, to those at a distance, would still seem very obscure.

“Those who are educated among the Egyptians,” says he¹⁷, “learn first of all the method of Egyptian writing, called EPISTOLOGRAPHIC; secondly, the HIERATIC, which is employed by the sacred scribes; and finally, to complete all, the HIEROGLYPHIC, which is partly *kyriologic*¹⁸, by means of the first elements; partly *symbolic*. The symbolic expresses them either by imitation; represents them by tropes; or by certain enigmatic allegories. Thus, for example, if they wished to indicate the sun and moon, by the representing method (by imitation), they draw a circle for the former and a *luniform* figure, or

that in common use. Only one besides Clement mentions three; PORPHYR. *De Vita Pythag.* 11, 12, but without properly distinguishing them. See ZOEGA, l. c.

¹⁷ CLEMENS ALEX. *Stromata*, vol. iv. p. 555; *Sylb.* I only give a translation. The passage, with a commentary, will be found in Appendix I.

¹⁸ [Or expressive of objects in a proper, not figurative or metaphorical manner.]

crescent, for the latter; but in the tropical method they represent objects by certain similarities (or analogies), which they alter, exchange, or completely transform. Thus, when they transmit the praises of their kings in their religious mythi, they describe them by means of anaglyphs (that is, by transpositions, or transformations of the hieroglyphs). Of the third sort, by enigmas, let this serve as an example: the oblique course of the other stars they represent by a serpent; but that of the sun by a beetle."

From this passage it is evident that St. Clement was acquainted with three different methods of writing, the *epistolographic*, or demotic, which was the one in general use for common affairs; the *hieratic*, employed by the sacred scribes, and which probably on that account came to be used in all their writings by the priests; and the *hieroglyphic*. I need not speak of the two first, as no doubt exists respecting them. But, with regard to hieroglyphics, he again subdivides them into the *kyriologic*, composed of first elements, and the *tropical*; which latter again is partly representative, partly symbolic, partly enigmatic. That the first was that which is usually termed hieroglyphic, or allegorical picture-writing, no one can well doubt, of which the enigmatic is only a higher description. The main question that remains for our consideration, is, what did Clement *understand by hieroglyphic writing by means of the first elements?*

The Greek expression is : διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, which is literally translated *per prima elementa*. The early commentators, who by hieroglyphics only thought of symbolic signs, found this passage embarrassing, as the second sort is expressly distinguished from the others by being symbolic. We may, for this reason, conclude with certainty, that the former, which was composed of first elements, differed from this, or was not of a symbolical kind. Now the Greek word στοιχεῖα as well as the Latin does also signify *letters* (*elementa litterarum*). Why should we not therefore at once conclude, that it should be so understood here, which would at once prove the existence of phonetic hieroglyphs, or hieroglyphic signs of sound ?

The expression is thus understood by the learned Frenchman. But what does the adjective mean : by the *first* letters ? Upon this point M. Champollion, wishing to have the opinion of a Greek scholar, applied to M. Letronne, who in a very learned manner explained it to mean the *earliest letters*, namely, the sixteen which Cadmus carried into Greece¹⁹. I cannot however see what end so far-fetched an explanation could answer ; and much wonder, that two learned men should overlook, what seems so obvious, and by which the method of explaining phonetic hieroglyphs is likewise so manifestly confirmed. Why should we not trans-

¹⁹ See his Letters at the end of the *Précis*, p. 405.

late the expression *by the first letters*: BY THE INITIAL LETTERS²⁰? Every one knows that the Greek word *πρῶτα* denotes as well the first in order of *place* as in order of *time*; just as it does in the inscription on the obelisk explained by Hermapion where *πρῶτος στίχος* is translated the first row, or initial lines; and in a passage of Plutarch, easy to be turned to *πρῶτον τῶν γραμμάτων* the first letter. No grammatical difficulty therefore stands in the way; and the expression, otherwise so obscure, by this means, becomes perfectly clear. According to this explanation, then, hieroglyphic writing consists of three sorts of characters: the first is composed of initial letters, that is, *phonetic hieroglyphs*, which are always taken from the initial sounds of the word, which the picture in the common language denotes; in scientific language *kyriologic*. The second the symbolic. This again represents either the object itself, by its picture, (*κατὰ μίμησιν*, *imitation* or *copy*), or in a symbolic picture; it is therefore called the *tropical* where a certain relation between the object and the picture is always found; or finally the *enigmatical*, where such a relation does not exist at all, or is no longer evident; and which, therefore, as it is the most difficult to comprehend is very justly named.

²⁰ I did not see till after I had written this, that it is shown in the reprint of the *Précis*, by the learned proofs brought forward, though only cursorily, that the same opinion has been there adopted. I thought it necessary to mention this, lest my explanation should be considered as taken from that.

Now if this interpretation of the first method of writing, *per prima elementa*, by INITIAL LETTERS, is just, then it follows that the manner of deciphering the phonetic hieroglyphs becomes confirmed by the testimony of a writer; and certainly of *the* writer who was the most intimately acquainted with it, and who has spoken the most accurately upon the subject.

I do not see what objection can be made to this interpretation of St. Clement, except, perhaps, that he has spoken somewhat too briefly and obscurely to warrant it. This we will willingly grant to be true in reference to us. But first, he only touches upon this subject on its coming incidentally in his way; he by no means intended to give a commentary upon the Egyptian method of writing. Secondly, from the manner in which he speaks of it, we must conclude, that it was at that time a thing still well known in Alexandria, as the knowledge of hieroglyphic writing was open, at least to every educated individual. And lastly, the apparently obscure expressions, the kyriologic, the tropical, the enigmatical methods of writing, are not to be taken as terms invented by Clement himself; they are evidently the common scientific expressions, or technical terms, which were made use of in the Greek language, to denote these particular methods of writing; and which in the eyes of the Father of the church seemed to require no prolix commentary.

To these general proofs may be added one

of a more direct nature, which, though it has escaped M. Champollion, appears to me to carry great weight, since it not only affords us the example of a particular phonetic hieroglyphic, but also evidently proves the accuracy of the interpretation itself, by the testimony of a writer of very great authority. Plutarch, in his *Symposion*, where speaking of the arrangement or succession of letters in the alphabet, makes *Hermias* say²¹. *Hermes is said in Egypt to have first invented letters. The Egyptians therefore consecrate to the ibis, as belonging to him, the first place in the alphabet.* That alphabetical letters are here spoken of, the context places beyond contradiction, as it speaks expressly of the arrangement and order of letters in the alphabet. Two propositions evidently follow from this; first, an hieroglyphic, the ibis, denotes a letter; secondly, this letter was the first in the alphabet, consequently the A; for that is the object just before spoken of. Now, independent of this passage, Champollion, by *his* method, had arrived at the same result; that, *l'épervier, l'ibis, et trois autres espèces d'oiseau s'emploient constamment pour A*, is what he states in his letter to M. Dacier; and he gives repre-

²¹ Ἑρμῆς λέγεται θεῶν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ γράμματα πρῶτος εὐρεῖν. Διὸ καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων Ἀιγύπτιοι πρῶτον Ἰβιν γράφουσιν, ὡς Ἑρμεῖ προσῆκουσαν. *Hermes primus Deorum in Ægypto dicitur invenisse litteras. Itaque Ibin Ægyptii signum faciunt primæ litteræ, utpote Hermeti consecratam.* *Op.* ii. p. 738.

sentations of them in a plate²². If then the existence of one phonetic hieroglyphic, with its signification, is proved by the testimony of Plutarch, can there be any doubt left respecting the existence of others,—respecting the existence of a hieroglyphic alphabet? If the Egyptians called one of their letters the first, does it not stand to reason that they must have had a second, a third, etc.

The third question now demands our attention: how much has yet been deciphered by this method, and how does what has been done agree with history? Before this question can be properly answered, it is necessary to make some inquiries respecting the language in which the Egyptian writings are composed. It is certainly conceivable, that when the signs representing sound are discovered, a writing, by the rules of artificial deciphering, may be *read*, without even a knowledge of the language; but it is impossible to conceive that it could without this be understood, where the writing is altogether, or even the greater part, composed of alphabetical letters²³.

It is generally agreed, that the Egyptian inscriptions are composed in the language of the

²² *Lettre*, p. 38, plate iv.

²³ It is altogether different with Chinese writing, whose signs do not represent sounds but ideas, which every one, without even knowing the Chinese words, may read and understand in his language, as soon as he knows the signification of the signs.

country—the ancient Egyptian. But what do we know of this language? Those who have most studied the subject are of opinion, that the key to it must be sought for in the Coptic. The next question that arises then, is, in what relation does this language (the Coptic) stand to the ancient Egyptian ²⁴? A question which has the greater claim to our attention, as it has lately been asserted, that the Coptic can give us no help in this matter.

The Coptic is no longer a living language, although the Copts still continue to form a distinct class of inhabitants in Egypt. Their former language (for they now speak Arabic like the rest of the Egyptians) is only to be found in writings. We still know of three different dialects in which these are composed; the Saidic or Thebaic, which prevailed in Upper Egypt; the Bahiric or Memphitic, that of Middle Egypt; and the Bashmuri, upon which some uncertainty rests, whether it was spoken in Lower Egypt, or in the Oases, or in both ²⁵. All the Coptic literature with which we are yet acquainted, is entirely theological; it consists of

²⁴ We already possess a full answer to this question in ETIENNE QUATREMERE, *Recherches critiques et historiques sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1808, in which the identity of the Coptic with the ancient Egyptian, in the sense explained in the text, is clearly proved. A still more important authority is given to it, in *Notice de l'ouvrage intitulé Recherches, etc. par SILVESTRE DE SACY*, 1808. The work of Quatremère carries the proofs principally through the various periods, by a number of testimonies from contemporary writers; it also gives a history of the study of the Coptic in Europe.

²⁵ See QUATREMERE, *Recherches, etc.* p. 147, etc.

translations of the Bible, homilies, lives of saints and martyrs, and the like ²⁶; nothing has yet been found in geography or history; one single medical tract is said to have been discovered ²⁷. The Coptic alphabet is borrowed from the Greek, with the addition, however, of eight signs, to represent sounds which could not be represented with the Greek letters.

We gather, therefore, from the Coptic literature itself, two distinct propositions; first, that it ceased, during the time Christianity was professed in Egypt, consequently, before the Arabian conquest, and the introduction of Islamism ²⁸; and secondly, that the Coptic, up to that time, was certainly the language of the country, because these writings were composed for the people.

We have only therefore to ascertain, whether the language at that time spoken by the people was the ancient language of the country? But here we may ask what else could it have been? It is true that the Greeks, and after them the Romans, conquered Egypt. But neither of these caused, or wished to cause, their language to be spoken beyond Alexandria, which, from

²⁶ QUATREMERE, p. 115, etc. gives a catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts so far as known. The great work of ZOËGA had not at that time appeared: *Catalogus codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum, qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Romæ, 1810.

²⁷ H. AKERBLATT notices such a one in the manuscripts of Borgia, QUATREMERE, p. 141; but it is not mentioned in Zoëga's Catalogue.

²⁸ Zoëga finds a Coptic manuscript of the year 802; and in the Vatican are some as late as the beginning of the tenth century. ZOËGA's *Catalogue*, p. 171.

the beginning, was a Greek city, any more than the English do theirs in Bengal. How, indeed, would this have been practicable, among a people remarkable for preserving their customs and habits, and whose language was already refined by a literature ²⁹? Neither would this have been possible to the Arabs, had they not fixed themselves permanently in the country ³⁰. It cannot certainly be denied, but that the dominion of the Greeks and Romans had some influence upon this language. Many Greek words must have been adopted to express ideas for which this language had no terms. The introduction of Christianity and Greek characters must also have wrought a considerable change. But still all this did not form a new language. All learned in the Coptic agree, that it continued to form a distinct language. The proportion of Greek words was very small; and of the Latin, which was rendered unnecessary by the spread of the Greek, no words at all were adopted.

²⁹ That this did not happen under the Ptolemies or Romans, QUATREMERRE has shown by a great number of proofs in section i. By the introduction of Christianity, the ancient religion, but not the ancient language, fell to the ground. The ancient writing, however, certainly fell into disuse with the religion, I do not say all at once, but gradually, as it was no longer of any service. The Greek took its place, according to ZOEGA, *De Obeliscis*, p. 437, in the third century. This also, very naturally, became gradually adopted, hence the impossibility of an accurate settlement of the time. QUATREMERRE, p. 18.

³⁰ QUATREMERRE, p. 29, etc. shows us how the Coptic gradually ceased to be a living language under the Arabian dominion. Till the year 718 (the 96th of the Hegira) the register of the divan at Cairo was made in Coptic, p. 32. From that time, at the command of the then governor, it has been entered in Arabic.

The Coptic, therefore, probably bears about the same relation to the ancient Egyptian, as the modern Greek does to the ancient. And will any one hesitate to admit, that we might understand ancient Greek, even if we had no other way of obtaining a knowledge of it but through the modern? Surely, then, as this is a case in point, we may consider the Coptic as the key to the ancient Egyptian. Its very name, indeed, tends to confirm it, for *Coptic* is, by almost general agreement, regarded as merely a corruption of *Egyptic* (*Αἰγυπτίος*)³¹!

Let us now return to the main question: how far do the results of what has been done agree with history; and how much has been thus far deciphered? Taking the first of these questions in its widest sense, it is equivalent to asking whether the interpretations already made, give us such information as might reasonably be expected from the nature of things in general?

What has been hitherto deciphered, consists almost entirely of inscriptions upon public monuments, temples, palaces, and obelisks; together with a few upon mummies. We know, for a certainty, that these monuments were built by kings, in order to hand down their memory to posterity, and to obtain from the priest caste such advantages and concessions as their situation might make desirable³². We should therefore naturally be prepared to find the names of

³¹ The proofs are collected by QUATREMERE; p. 31.

³² See Vol. i. p. 368.

kings upon these monuments ; and, appended to their names, the honorary titles conferred upon them. In the theocracy these honorary distinctions could scarcely be other than such as had a reference to religion ; they would express some relation to the deities to whose service they had devoted themselves, to which occasionally might be added some family connection or occurrence, names of ancestry, that of the father or wives, etc. This is what might reasonably have been expected ; and this is what has been found. The discoveries hitherto made go little beyond this. The presumption, that the names of rulers would be found upon these monuments, is not to be regarded as a fancifully conceived hypothesis. It is a supposition arising from the nature of things ; and when such a one is confirmed, it can only excite a favourable opinion.

It was a great advantage that the names of kings were distinguished by being enclosed in an oval border (*cartouche*). For when this became manifest by the Rosetta stone, with the Greek translation, a great advance was made towards the deciphering of public monuments ; especially, as it was soon established, that this border was conferred exclusively upon kings, and not granted to any other persons, or even to deities³³. It gave rise to the hope, that if no farther light should be thrown upon the in-

³³ CHAMPOLLION, *Précis*, p. 131, etc.

scription, the names of the kings alone, would at least clear up many parts of the early history of Egypt.

That these oval enclosures, therefore, contain nothing but the names and titles of kings, can not be denied, even by those who feel inclined to question the other discoveries of M. Champollion. Let us next examine how the names and titles deciphered agree with history.

With regard to the titles, they refer throughout to the worship of, and relation to, the native deities. "The well-beloved of Ammon, of Helios (Rhe); The approved of Ammon; The approved of Helios; The Ammon loving, etc."

We need not attempt to prove, that these titles are just such as might be expected from our knowledge of the national religion, and the close intimacy of the kings with it. But a more direct proof still remains. The translation of the inscription on the obelisk of Hermapion, which has been preserved by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, contains a title of the king to whom it was erected, partly in the same words, and, even where it differs, it is quite in the style³⁴.

And, finally, come the names of the Pharaohs themselves. The greatest part and most important of these are preserved to us in the fragments of Manetho on the dynasties. What has been deciphered agrees as well with these, as can be expected from the omission of the vowels

³⁴ AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. xvii. 4.

according to the Egyptian orthography, and the Greek terminations.

To this may still be added another confirmation. The deciphered names upon public monuments mostly belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Manetho; none yet reach beyond the eighteenth, except one inscription, discovered at Abydos, which is said to contain some from the sixteenth³⁵. With this eighteenth dynasty, however, commences the flourishing period of Egypt. It is the epoch at which Egypt, after the expulsion of the nomad conquerors, the Hyksos, became united into one empire; and which I have named after the most celebrated of its rulers, SESOSTRIS³⁶. We read the names of more than one Ramasses (which Sesostris also bore), though distinguished by different surnames; of more than one Amenophis, of a Thutmosis, a Sesonchis, and some others. None have yet appeared which are not confirmed by Manetho.

From what has been now stated, I think we are fairly justified in holding the method adopted by M. Champollion for the right one, till a better shall be discovered. It does not rest upon merely fanciful, arbitrary data, but upon reasonable and well-founded propositions. I say however his *method*; and by no means intend to assert that every one of his interpretations is established

³⁵ CHAMPOLLION, *Précis*, p. 246. We are indebted to Caillaud for the transcript of this important relief.

³⁶ *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 62, Oxford, 1833.

beyond a doubt. That indeed would be next to a miracle. We stand but on the threshold. Beyond names and titles (indubitably the easiest, because in the former there is no difficulty, and in the latter only little, occasioned by a few Coptic words which sometimes occur) scarcely any thing has been yet attempted. What may be hereafter done by this method, in the interpretation of longer Egyptian compositions, it is impossible to determine; we shall be better able to judge when we have seen what changes the ancient Egyptian has undergone in the Coptic. But even if the course which has been pursued should lead to no such result, that would prove nothing against the validity of the given interpretations. The names and the titles, with the exception of a few words, are entirely independent of the language. Justice warns us not to require more than the means made use of will fairly entitle us to expect. I have experienced, in giving an account of the deciphering of the arrow-headed writings, what unreasonable expectations are formed by some would-be critics ³⁷,—nothing less than what would be de-

³⁷ Although criticism upon single deciphered names may be ill-placed here, yet I cannot forbear to notice a single deciphering, which is equally interesting as regards the way of explaining both the arrow-headed and phonetic hieroglyphics. Upon an Egyptian urn at Paris, made known by Caylus, is an inscription in the arrow-headed writing, and in hieroglyphics. In the first, M. Grotefend found, according to his method of deciphering, the names of Xerxes (*Ideen*, vol. ii. s. 350). When Champollion applied his method of deciphering to the second, he found exactly the same name. *Précis*, p. 180. How can such a coincidence be accounted for except by the accuracy of the methods? Any other way it is next to a miracle.

manded in the interpretation of a Greek or Roman inscription.

After all this there yet remains the examination of the separate phonetic hieroglyphics, in order to see how far these are the initial sounds of the Egyptian words, whose sounds they are said to represent. This however presupposes a familiar acquaintance with the Coptic language, with which I cannot flatter myself, and must therefore leave it to those who have made that language their study. That M. Champollion applied himself with great ardour, even from his earliest years, to the study of that language, is proved by his early work on the Geography of Egypt under the Pharaohs, which has been already noticed.

The discoveries of a celebrated German traveller, afford us an opportunity of comparing these hieroglyphics of Egypt with those of a very distant country, and separated from it by an immense ocean: I mean the Mexican³⁸. Such a comparison cannot fail to be instructive, even though it should furnish nothing towards the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics. It is the common failing of the lovers of antiquity, where they perceive certain similarities, to go back so far upon derivation and common origin, as seldom fails to lead to rash, and often specious hypotheses. A close inspection, however, of the Mexican and Egyptian hieroglyphics

³⁸ DE HUMBOLDT, *Vues de Cordilleres et Monumens de l'Amerique*. Livraison i. ii. iii. iv. and particularly v. and vi.

will prove that their origin was not the same, and that there is no similarity in their progress and use. The origin of the Mexican and Egyptian hieroglyphics was evidently in both cases local. There is nothing in the signs of the Mexican which points towards a foreign origin; the far greater part of the Egyptian are plainly stamped of native growth; and though this cannot possibly be the case with all, as among the members of the human body, yet I do not know of one that might not be of Egyptian origin. Besides, the pictures of the Mexican hieroglyphics are, for the most part, whole human figures; figures of beasts; or the heads of beasts, so portrayed, that the species is immediately recognised;—while the Egyptian hieroglyphics, consist, with few exceptions, of merely separate parts of objects, limbs, implements, etc. Again: the hieroglyphics of Mexico evidently sprung from painting; they still closely resemble them; those of Egypt from sculpture. The Mexican hieroglyphics, with which I am acquainted, in the manuscripts at Rome, Vienna, Velletri, and those which Mr. Humboldt has deposited at Berlin, consist entirely of paintings; only one in relief was found and copied by the latter, and it is still doubtful how far that can be called an hieroglyphic³⁹. The great influence which this difference had upon the whole character of the hieroglyphics need scarcely be

³⁹ Part i. plate 21. *Bas-relief Azteque de la Pierre des Sacrifices.*

pointed out. The greater part of the Mexican hieroglyphics were such as could not be represented at all, or only very imperfectly, in sculpture. Fourthly: the number and variety of Mexican hieroglyphics, provided we may venture to judge from the few monuments yet known, are much more limited than those of the Egyptians. When the signs are formed of whole figures, or outlines of whole figures, this must almost necessarily be the case. Hence therefore we deduce, that, upon the whole, the Mexican hieroglyphics had not attained near that perfection which the Egyptian had. It remained generally much nearer the mere image, their representations being usually half such images; while the Egyptian are evidently much farther removed from mere images, and become allegorical. Finally: let us add to all this the discovery of the phonetic hieroglyphics, altogether unknown to the Mexicans, and all appearance of similarity in the hieroglyphics of the two nations will almost entirely vanish.

A very important, and, as regards the hieroglyphics, very beneficial restriction, was imposed upon those of Egypt, from the use to which they were applied. All that remains to us of Egyptian antiquities, very plainly tells us that they were especially made use of for public monuments, buildings, and statues. I have already remarked, that upon all these monuments hieroglyphics *alone* are to be found, there is nowhere the least trace of alphabetical cha-

racters⁴⁰. Notwithstanding, therefore, that hieroglyphics may likewise be met with upon mummies, and that it should be granted that they are contained in some of the earliest sacred books of the priests, still it does not remain the less certain, that the principal use for which they were designed was inscriptions on public monuments; and accordingly we find, in the flourishing period of Egypt (of which alone we can here speak), but very few made use of in the writings upon papyrus, while they abound in sculpture. There is no doubt but it was this circumstance which preserved to them their proper form, and prevented their transformation into a mere arbitrary figure. This is always the case in writing, where contraction, combinations, and so forth, unavoidably lead to it. Sculpture, upon durable bodies, demands a more careful formation of the separate members,—the figures must be fully expressed; moreover, their destination, as public monuments, would naturally awaken the emulation and industry of the artizan. The latest researches give proofs of this. The hieroglyphics are found much more carefully and highly finished upon public monuments, where they are *sculptured*, than upon mummies, etc., where they are merely painted;

⁴⁰ A single exception is found in a short inscription of one line at Philæ, plate xv. fig. 15, of the great work on Egypt. It is still, however, very doubtful whether these are letters; and besides, the latest inquirers place the greater part of the monuments at Philæ in the Greek and Roman period.

Champollion, therefore, has divided them into two classes, according to the character of the workmanship, one of which he names the *pure*, and the other the *linear*⁴¹. The hieroglyphics, also, were the better preserved on another account; as they were sculptured on the ancient monuments of the nation, and belonged to its flourishing period, the epoch of its splendour and glory, they became sacred in the eyes of posterity, and continued unchanged and uninjured.

But this very fact leads again to another very important conclusion: the archæology of this nation was by themselves immediately linked to their public monuments. It was by these that was preserved the remembrance of former times, —the remembrance of their kings, their heroes, and legislators. This is the description which antiquity itself gives of the sources whence the priests derived their information, since they traced back, on those sacred pillars covered with hieroglyphics, all that Thot or Hermes, the symbol of human intelligence, as inventor of hieroglyphic writing, and, therefore, likewise the protecting deity of the priest caste, had established. But these pillars, obelisks, temples, etc., were covered with hieroglyphics, and only with hieroglyphics. The more ancient history of Egypt, therefore, as related by the priests themselves, must necessarily have been an hieroglyphic traditional history, connected with these monu-

⁴¹ *Précis*, p. 357. *Hieroglyphes purs*, and *Hieroglyphes lineaires*.

ments, and extracted from them. The Egyptian history of Herodotus, as found in the latter half of the second book of his work, gives the most striking and irrefutable proofs of this fact. The father of history there relates to us those accounts which he collected from the mouths of the Egyptian priests; we may, therefore, flatter ourselves that he has preserved to us, what they in *his* time knew,—before yet their country had passed under the dominion of the Greeks, not much above half a century after the fall of the throne of the Pharaohs,—of their ancient history, and the deeds of their kings, whose names he has rescued from oblivion. A single glance at this history however, is sufficient to prove that it is an hieroglyphic history exclusively collected from public monuments. The nature of the matters related sufficiently evinces the truth of the latter, as they can only be understood allegorically, if they are to have a rational meaning at all⁴². The first is sufficiently ob-

⁴² The passage quoted from CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS accords exactly with this. As a second sort of symbolical writing he mentions the tropic, which consisted of pictures that no longer were taken in a proper sense, and remarks, that therein were concealed, enveloped in sacred mythi, the narratives of the exploits of their kings. (He calls them *anaglyphs*; which expression is improperly referred by Champollion to the third kind, the enigmatic; *Précis*, p. 383). These representations, therefore, were the principal sources of the sacred traditions (λόγοι ἱεροὶ) of the Egyptian priests, which are nothing more than picture relations of what we read in Herodotus, Plutarch, and other writers, partly of the gods, as of Osiris, Isis, Ammon, and numerous others, partly of their kings, as in Herodotus, of Pheron, Ramsis, and so on. These relations, however, contain any thing rather than what we should call interpretations of these representations; no unfolding of the true sense which lies locked up within them;

vious from the fact, that the monuments were instituted by *every* king, without exception, whose name they bear; but in order that no doubt should rest upon the subject, the writer adds, that the priests, besides, enumerated to him, from a papyrus roll, the mere names of three hundred and thirty kings, of whom they could relate nothing farther, because they had left no monuments behind ⁴³.

But if the knowledge which the priests had of the principal events depended on public monuments, on temples, obelisks, and colossi, what a striking effect this must have had upon what we call the history of Egypt! How defective it must be; of what mere fragments composed! Was it possible to prevent what was known from being connected with certain

these remained the secret of the priest-caste, so long as they chose, and the key thereto was not lost by them. And thus becomes explained why they could feel no great hesitation in imparting them to strangers, who succeeded in gaining their confidence. Many of them, indeed, became popular reports; namely, those which bore relation to the public feasts.

⁴³ HEROD. ii. 101. Judging merely from this writer, should we not be fully justified in assuming, that *historical* written documents, besides the catalogues of kings, existed among the priests; and yet Herodotus inquired for them among the best informed at Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis. It may however be, that the priests did not *wish* to give him any farther information; and, therefore, I will not altogether deny the existence of such writings; others quote them, and Manetho drew from them, whose sources (as I and ZOEGA (p. 433) believe, and as the latest inquiries confirm) could not be so inconsiderate and destitute of criticism as some of our later writers are disposed to make them. It is, however, highly probable that these writings, if such really existed, were nothing more than a commentary upon the hieroglyphic documents: these, therefore, still remained the primary and principal sources. It is, however, worthy of remark, that CLEMENS, *Stroth.* l. c. quotes no proper historical work in his classed catalogue of the sacred books.

names ? and then how would the deeds of certain kings, as is evidently the case with regard to Sesostris, become exaggerated ? Will it still be attempted to prove that the series of those kings was uninterrupted, even allowing the priests to have represented it as such ?

The names of numerous Ptolemies and Cæsars, which have been found upon the Egyptian monuments in hieroglyphic inscriptions, confirmed what was previously known from the Greek inscriptions ; namely, that many of those monuments must date their origin in a later period than that of the Pharaohs. It becomes so much the more necessary to explain this, because there seems a desire—if only for the sake of novelty—to bring down the age of most, if not all of those monuments to a later period.

It evidently was a great advantage for the study of Egyptian antiquities, that those, who took an interest therein, began by carefully transcribing and collecting the *Greek* inscriptions which were there found on many of the monuments, and which had previously been almost entirely neglected. We are indebted to them for the important work of M. Letronne, upon the state of Egypt under the dominion of the Greeks and Romans, drawn from inscriptions⁴⁴. There are two ways of determining

⁴⁴ *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Égypte pendant la Domination des Grecs et des Romains, tirées des Inscriptions Grecques et Latines, relatives à la Chronologie, à l'état des Arts, aux usages Civils, et aux Religions de ce pays ; par M. LETRONNE. Paris, 1823.*

the age of monuments; one from the style of the architecture, the other from the inscriptions. Only proficient in the art can decide it by the first; and it is nowhere more difficult than in the monuments of Egypt, because their style, altogether, has been subject to the least change. Besides, the age in this way can only be fixed to certain periods, not to years; nor can it be done from drawings or engravings, but the object must be actually seen, and carefully examined, before any judgment of its age can be given. By this means two celebrated architects, Gau and Hujot, came to the conclusion, that Egyptian architecture should be divided into three different periods: the earliest, to which belong many of the monuments of Nubia and Upper Egypt; the period of its complete splendour in the flourishing ages of the Pharaohs; and a third which reached down to the times of the Ptolemies and Romans⁴⁵. This view, with regard to the last period, is completely confirmed by the Greek inscriptions, while it completely overthrows the opinion, which previously prevailed, that all the monuments built in the Egyptian style date earlier than the period of the Ptolemies, and belong to that of the Pharaohs. And if we fairly consider what we know of the state of Egypt under the Ptolemies and under the Romans, we shall hardly be able to conceive that the whole an-

⁴⁵ LETRONNE, *Recherches*, etc. Introduction, p. xxv.

cient temple-architecture of Egypt could have ceased all at once. The religion continued; the priest-caste continued; (policy, indeed, required that these should be favoured;) means could not be wanting in a country so rich, and which at that time was the emporium of the world; can we then believe that the two ancient arts of architecture and sculpture could suddenly fall into disuse?

Before, however, we attempt to decide from the Greek inscriptions (for, as their evidence is the safest, we shall only judge from them), how far the monuments of Egypt belong to the Greek and Roman periods, we must take a glance at the plan and architecture of those stupendous monuments, which ancient Egypt, principally in temples, has left behind. Not merely the extent, but the plan also, of these gigantic buildings clearly shows, that every part of them was not raised at the same time; but that a long period, perhaps a succession of centuries, elapsed before they stood in their full magnitude and perfection. The proper interior sanctuary is but of small extent, but gradually widens, as the new buildings, the colonnades, saloons of pillars, the pylones, are added to it. In front of these sit the colossi; again, before these are placed the obelisks. An avenue of sphinxes, rams, or other animals, of a gigantic size, lead to these; and again, in front of all this stands a magnificent entrance; and, perhaps, even before this another alley of colossal

beasts; and these leading to various sides. It might therefore be said, that such a vast structure could scarcely ever be completed; art could always find place for improvements or additions, without even offence to good taste. It was by these additional buildings, that monarchs endeavoured to preserve the glory of their deeds, to obtain a higher consecration, and to give splendour to their reign. It quite belonged, therefore, to the character of these buildings, and the purposes for which they were appointed, that continual additions should be made to them. Should there still be a doubt on this subject, so clearly proved by appearances, we have an historical proof of it in Herodotus, who tells us of the additions made to the principal temple at Memphis, and to that of Phtha, by a succession of Pharaohs.

The repeated researches that have been made leave scarcely a single Greek inscription on the Egyptian and Nubian temples, with which we are unacquainted; but their number is certainly not very considerable. Those that are known seldom extend to the whole building, but only to the particular parts, or additions, upon which they stand. These additions were mostly erected by the inhabitants of the nome, or by the troops, as votive offerings for the welfare of the king, or Cæsar⁴⁶; and but few by these rulers themselves. To these belong the great eastern en-

⁴⁶ Namely all those beginning with ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βασιλέως or Καίσαρος; as is shown by Letronne.

trance of the small temple at Tentyris, as well as the vestibule (*pronaos*) of the great temple at the same place, as the inscriptions expressly state; and besides these, the propylon, or entrance, of the temple of Pan at Chemmis; and also that of the temple of Ammon on the great oasis. All these belong to the Roman period. From that of the Ptolemies we have the propylon of the temple of Isis and Serapis at Parrembole, the station beyond Syene; the *pronaos* at Antaopolis, which was afterwards restored by the Antonines; the propylon at Little Apollinopolis; part of the great temple at Ombos: as a set-off to which the small temple at Philæ, dedicated to the Aphrodite, seems to have been entirely built by the second Ptolemy Evergetes. These are the monuments which, according to the Greek inscriptions, certainly belong to the later periods. By means of deciphering *hieroglyphic* legends, M. Champollion still adds to these the temple of Bahbeit; the great temple and the Typhonium of Tentyris; the portico of Esneh, and the temple to the north of this city; the temple of Ombos; the temple and the Typhonium of Edfu; and the great temple of Philæ⁴⁷. But whether, allowing the deciphering to be accurate, the whole of these monuments, or only parts of them, belong to the later period, can only be settled by a farther examination, which cannot be well made except upon the spot.

⁴⁷ *Précis*, p. 387.

Be this as it may, it is very evident that the discovery of later buildings under the Ptolemies and Romans, in no way opposes the representations, which have thus far been made, of the state of the nation under the Pharaohs. The vast monuments of higher antiquity, the ruins of the kingly Thebes, of the royal sepulchre, the temples and obelisks of Elephantis, Heliopolis, and others, are become more striking and certain evidences than ever of that wonderful period now that we read upon their walls the names of the Pharaohs who erected them ⁴⁸.

From what has been said, a tolerably correct notion may be formed, of the point to which our knowledge of ancient Egypt has already attained, and of that to which it may yet be carried. That wonderful nation seems still to speak to us through its monuments ; in a language it is true in which we have made but little progress, and which, indeed, we can scarcely ever hope completely to master. How little, indeed, do we know of those pictural representations upon its monuments ! Our information has, indeed, been somewhat extended within a very late period, but only just sufficiently to open our eyes to the nothingness of what we know, compared with what still remains hidden. A long tranquil period would be necessary, and a host of artists to copy the inscriptions and bas-reliefs, which cover the walls of the temples, and the still more

⁴⁸ CHAMPOLLION, *Précis*, l. c.

instructive paintings which decorate the partitions of countless sepulchres. All that we yet possess of them taken together, are but paltry patterns ⁴⁹ !

It is not the object of the present work to explain Egyptian antiquities in their whole extent. I shall be satisfied if I can place before my reader a general view of the country and people, of their political institutions, and of their literature and science, so far as connected with them, especially in the kingly Thebes ; and, finally, of the share which they took in the commerce of the world.

⁴⁹ [Considerable information, however, of a most interesting nature, is likely to be obtained by the exertions of Champollion. He has caused several hundred drawings to be taken of the most curious paintings in the sepulchral excavations of Beni Hassan. Most of these relate to the domestic manners of the ancient Egyptians. They are arranged by Champollion under various heads, as agriculture, the farmyard, arts and handicrafts, singing, music, dancing, games and diversions, navigation, zoology ; besides the higher classes of religious and historical subjects. See CHAMPOLLION'S *Letters from Egypt*, particularly the fifth and sixth. *Trans.*]

EGYPTIANS.

CHAPTER I.

General view of the country and its inhabitants.

EGYPT IS A LAND OF MARVELS, AND EXCELS ALL OTHERS IN
MIGHTY WORKS. HEROD. ii. 35.

IF it be still possible to throw any general light upon the obscurity of Egyptian antiquities; the torch must be first kindled by a knowledge of the country. Had we been born, and passed our lives on the banks of the Nile, many things would be evident and easy to comprehend, which are now doubtful and unsolved problems. There is no other people of the ancient world whose form and fashion bears so strongly the impress of locality as the Egyptian; or who is bound to his country by so many ties, or who so identified it with himself. As this country, then, differed in so many remarkable peculiarities from all others that we know of, ought we to be astonished if the nation differed also?

Egypt taken in its widest extent, must be ranked among the countries of moderate size. If we compute its superficial contents at about 6,000 square miles it will not much exceed

England¹. There is scarcely, however, any other country so limited, in which appears so much internal variety, or so wide and marked a difference in its separate parts. The highest fertility immediately borders on the completely sterile and solitary desert; rich plains stretch between the barren hills of sand, and barren and rugged mountains! The image of life and of death continually float before the eyes of the Egyptian in his country; what we have to say will show how much they influence the whole range of his ideas.

From the earliest antiquity Egypt has been called a gift of the Nile; and whatever hypothesis may be adopted, with regard to the formation and growth of its territory, it justly deserves to be considered as such, in reference to the fertility of its soil. Although Lower Egypt is not altogether without rain, yet this so rarely happens, as we retire from the sea, that, under the constantly serene sky of Thebes, the whole period of man's life may pass away without the earth being refreshed from above with more than a moist dew. The irrigation and fertility of the soil, therefore, entirely depend upon the river, without which Egypt would have shared the fate of the rest of Africa, and have been partly a sandy waste, and partly a stony desert.

The Nile flows in one undivided stream through Egypt, in almost an exact northern di-

¹ [*Encyclop. Metropol.* An exact computation is impossible, from the unsettled state of the western boundaries. *Trans.*]

rection, till it reaches the city of Cercasorus, about sixty geographical miles from its mouth. It here divides itself into several arms, which enclose the Delta, or fruitful part of Lower Egypt. It is generally known that this river bears along a fat slime, which it deposits on the lands it waters with its flood, and thereby gives them a greater fertility than could be procured by the richest manure.

These yearly inundations of the Nile have not only improved the cultivation of the soil, but have had such a vast influence upon the life and manners, knowledge and religion, and indeed upon the general organization of the nation, that it will be of service, on more than one occasion, for the farther progress of these researches, to stop here and take a glance at this interesting object.

The cause of this phenomenon was an object of much research even in ancient times. Herodotus formed many conjectures respecting it, and decided for the most reasonable of them²; Agatharchides, however, seems to have been the first to discover the truth³. The constant rains, to which the districts of Upper Ethiopia are subject during the wet season from May to September, swell all the rivers thereabouts, the whole of which pour their floods into the Nile, which consequently becomes the reservoir of this prodigious body of water. In the middle of

² HEROD. ii. 20, etc.

³ AGATHARCHID. ap. DIOD. i. p. 50.

June, about the time of the summer solstice, these first begin to enter Egypt, and the river there begins to rise. It continues to increase till the end of July, though still confined within its channel; but in the first half of August it overflows its banks, inundates the neighbouring territory⁴, and its waters continue, without intermission, to extend themselves till September. About this time, the torrents of rain in Ethiopia having ceased, the Nile begins gradually to fall, but so slowly, that the greater part of the territory of Egypt remains covered with its waters till the commencement of October; and it is not till towards the end of this month that they completely return into their bed.

The period of inundation, therefore, continues from the midst of August to the end of October; and during this time all the fertile valley of Egypt has the appearance of one vast lake, in which its cities jut up like so many islands. Ancient writers, indeed, are wont to compare it to the Ægæan sea; where the Cyclades and Sporades offer a similar appearance on a larger scale.

The soil of Egypt, therefore, is fruitful as far as this inundation reaches, or can be made to reach by artificial means. The well-soaked earth, manured by a fat mud, or slime, requires only to be sowed, digging or plowing being alike

⁴ It is usual to cut through the dams and open the canals on the 9th of August.

unnecessary⁵. Corn and pulse shoot up so quickly that in some parts a double crop is grown every year.

The Nile, from the southern frontiers of Egypt to where the stream becomes divided, runs in one uninterrupted course through a valley, bounded on each side by a chain of mountains, which, though they sometimes approach nearer and sometimes retire farther from its banks, usually leave from nine to twelve miles between them and the river. This valley forms the chief part of the cultivated land of Egypt; it formed originally the bed of this river, from which it has in a great measure been rescued by art. This same valley was also the ancient seat of Egyptian civilization; in it were organized the first Egyptian states, and in it arose, one after another, that line of cities, temples, and colossal works of art, which ornamented both banks of the river.

Where this valley ends the stream divides, and forms, by its arms, the fertile part of Lower Egypt, which is called the Delta. Ancient naturalists rightly explained this territory to be a gift of the Nile, which, by the mud and slime that it bears along and deposits, gradually raises the soil, and when, in a long course of centuries, it had, by its annual accumulations, formed land where before only water existed, it still kept open for itself several entrances into the sea,

⁵ The use of the plough, however, in the cultivation of the soil, has not remained unknown in Egypt; it is met with on the monuments.

which afterwards underwent various changes both of nature and art ⁶.

These large plains of the Delta, every where intersected by canals, and the valley I have just described, constitute the whole of Egypt which admits of cultivation; it scarcely amounts to a sixth part of the whole territory, according to its estimated superficial contents⁷. However, the more the importance of the country concentrates in these districts, the more necessary it becomes that we should consider them somewhat in detail.

Although the narrow plain forming the valley of the Nile, is reckoned to the fertile land, it is not equally so throughout. The stony mountain-chain which encloses it on the western side, presses in some places, especially in Upper Egypt, so close to the river, that the inundation reaches to its base. For the most part, however, and particularly in Middle Egypt, where the valley begins to widen, there is a barren sandy strip, from about a mile to two and a half broad, which intervenes between the foot of the chain and the land adapted to husbandry. This western chain serves in general to protect the valley of the Nile from the invasion of the

⁶ Seven mouths of the Nile were known to the ancients, of which the Pelusiatic was the most eastern and the Canopic the most western; but even at that time they were subject to many changes. The Nile at present has only two principal mouths; that of Rosetta and that of Damietta.

⁷ [*Quarterly Review*, xxx. p. 95. Mr. Gerard, estimates the mean width of the valley, between Syene and Cairo, at about nine miles, and the whole area of cultivable soil exclusive of the lateral valleys and the Oases, at about 11,000 square miles. *Trans.*]

sand of the desert, which whirled up, and impelled forward by the wind, would long since, without this barrier, have filled it up. Ancient Egyptian edifices, as well as single pyramids, and colossal sphinxes, which are sometimes found buried to their middle in sand, plainly evince that this protection has not, at all points, prevented its entrance; but the more accurate information, which we have recently had the good fortune to obtain, respecting these regions, gives us proofs that this has only partially been the case, and that the valley of the Nile in general seems to have suffered but little from this destructive enemy. The cultivated lands are also highest close to the river, where the Nile deposits its riches in the largest quantity, and sink as they stretch towards the waste. The banks of the river in Upper Egypt are usually from thirty to thirty-five feet above the level of the water. The lower and more distant lands, therefore, by means of numerous canals, are flooded sooner than the higher and nearer; on which account the latter, from the quantity of water drawn off to inundate the former, run the risk of getting none at all; a misfortune, the more distant can scarcely fear⁸. Recent researches also prove beyond a doubt (if indeed any proof was before wanting), that this fertile soil has all been formed by the mud or slime deposited by the Nile, and is therefore entirely

⁸ See proofs of this in REYNIER, *sur l'Agriculture de l'Egypte*, in *Mémoires*, tom. iv. p. 6.

a gift of that river⁹. But, however nature may here be aided by canals and machinery, she herself has fixed a boundary which cannot be passed. Even in the valley itself, the separation of the fruitful soil from the solitary waste is distinctly marked; the empire of life borders on the empire of death; the habitations of the living, which cover the fertile plains through which the Nile pours its waters, are followed by the abodes of the dead, the sandy plain and the hills being filled with countless graves and sepulchres; and this seems to have contributed more than any thing else to give that peculiar tone of mind and feeling to the nation, that peculiar character, which distinguishes it from all others.

The western mountain-chain, which bounds the valley of the Nile, consists for the most part of a stony ridge, covered with sand, whose western side descends into the great desert¹⁰. In this waste there are still two fruitful spots within the boundaries of Egypt, the Oases, so celebrated in antiquity, which are fertile, and possess water springs. In the researches upon the commercial routes of the Carthaginians, it has already been shown that such islands are not unfrequent in the great sandy oceans of Africa. Of the two Egyptian oases (only two were known to the ancients¹¹) the larger, lying

⁹ REYNIER, l. c.

¹⁰ A description of this will be found in BROWNE's *Travels*, p. 253.

¹¹ STRABO, xviii. p. 168. I have already remarked, in the preceding

to the south, which has been visited by several travellers, is now called *El Wah*¹²; we have accounts of its monuments, consisting of many temples, of which we have descriptions and plates. The name of the smaller is now *El Gherbi*. The fertility for which the greater oasis was celebrated in antiquity, appears to have been considerably diminished by the sand that has been driven into it from the desert; as large districts of sand are found between the few villages now scattered over it. Ancient geographers reckon all this part of Egypt to Libya; and indeed in these barren wastes there is no more a political, than a physical definite boundary.

The eastern part of the country, from the valley of the Nile to the Arabian gulf, is quite of a different nature. It consists of a stony mountainous tract, unfit for agriculture, though in many districts suitable for pasturage. These mountains, composed of marble of the greatest variety of colours, of granite, porphyry, and similar species of stone, formed the inexhaustible magazines for the colossal architectural mo-

volume, p. 210, that very probably the oases of *El Kargeh* and *El Dakel*, which are now considered as two, only together formed the Great Oasis of antiquity.

¹² First by Browne in his journey to Darfour. Since by Caillaud, Edmonstone, and others. See CAILLAUD, *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes*, Paris, 1813, with the plates xv. xviii; and EDMONSTONE'S *Journey to two of the Oases of Upper Egypt*. Lond. 1823. The smaller, without monuments, was visited by Belzoni. That of *Farafra*, and a few smaller, which have been mentioned by modern travellers, seem to have been unknown, and inconsiderable in antiquity. They are enumerated in † UKERT, *Geography of Africa*, p. 723.

numents of ancient Egypt, and in the granite quarries, even now are sometimes found the forms whence obelisks and colossi have been hewn out.

The French expedition has thrown a clearer light upon this part of Egypt, which was before almost entirely unknown. The nature of these mountains has been examined by geologists, and the long prevailing error, that the large masses which the Egyptians made use of in the erection of their public monuments, were obtained from a long distance from the Nile, has been corrected. The mountains bordering on the valley of the Nile, may be divided, according to their geological contents, into three districts¹³. In the south-east, near Philæ and the cataracts, rocks of Syenite or oriental granite prevail, from which the ancient Egyptians drew the stupendous masses required for their monuments of one piece (*monoliths*), obelisks, colossi, etc. The most northern district, reaching beyond Thebes, consists of mountain-chains both on the eastern and western side, composed of calcareous stone, of which therefore the pyramids were constructed. The middle district, extending from Syene to within a day's journey south of Latapolis or Esneh, forms the connecting link between the chalk and granite mountains, and consists entirely

¹³ For what follows see the essay of H. ROZIERE, *Description d'Ombos et des Environs*, sect. ii. in the *Description de l'Egypte*, tom. i. chap. iv. in the great work on Egypt. [The English reader will find a detailed account of the geology of Egypt in the *Encyclop. Metropol.* article *Egypt*, which seems to have been taken from the above source. *Trans.*]

of sandstone. This sandstone—of which all the temples in Upper Egypt are built—is of various colours; grey, yellowish, pure white; veins also of bright pink, or rose colour, occasionally occur. The buildings, however, generally appear white or grey. The stone is not very hard, and therefore the immense quantity of sculpture upon the walls of the temples were the more easily executed. The stone quarries in these districts are largest and most frequent where the mountain-chain approaches nearest to the river; especially near Silsilis, the present Selseleh, which shows clearly enough the care that was taken to make the transport to the river as short as possible. It is particularly necessary to notice, in this geographical sketch, that these mountain-chains are intersected by many valleys, running from west to east, and stretching as far as the Red sea. Some of these widen into plains, while others contract themselves into narrow ravines; the most northerly of them, the *Valley of Wandering*¹⁴, commences with an opening in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and extends to the most northern point of the Arabian gulf near Suez. But the best known is the one through which the road passes from Upper Egypt to Cosseir¹⁵. Recent discoveries

¹⁴ An accurate description of this valley will be found in *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, tom. iii. p. 360, etc. It derives its name from a tradition, that the Israelites wandered therein at their Exodus from Egypt.

¹⁵ Of this also the *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, tom. ii. p. 227, give an excellent account, which confirms that of Bruce.

have shown that there were many similar ways, though at present they are but very imperfectly known¹⁶. To these belongs, in particular, one that leads southerly from Edfu to the emerald mines near mount Zabara¹⁷; where is still found the remnant of an ancient city, and many mines. Closely connected with this subject, is the still obscure inquiry respecting the situation and number of the ports on the Red sea, in the period of the Ptolemies.

The rain, which not unfrequently falls in this stony mountain-region, gives it in places a degree of fertility. It is indeed incapable of agriculture; but the quantity of herbage which shoots up at certain periods in the valleys and plains, fits them for pasturage; and the nomad hordes who wander over them find a necessary supply of water in wells and pits; while the strange shapes and various colours of the steep, naked, rugged mountains, give to the whole picture an appearance of complete sterility.

The valley of the Nile in its whole course (the upper part of which down to Chemmis, contains the ancient Thebais or Upper Egypt; and the lower or northern, from Chemmis to Cercasorus,

¹⁶ It is become very evident from these, that the ancient caravan road from Coptos to the Arabian gulf, which may still be traced by ruins and ancient buildings, differed from the present. *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, iii. p. 264. † UKERT, in his *Geography of Africa*, i. p. 242, has noted down the course, and described the valleys which intersect the western mountain-ridge.

¹⁷ BELZONI, *Narrative*, p. 314. He did not find the ancient city here seen by Caillaud; probably because his guide lost his way.

where the Nile divides, Middle Egypt), was covered with a succession of cities and monuments, which must have formed, with scarcely any interruption, one continuous chain; there is now, however, with regard to the remains of antiquity, a striking difference between the two. They increase both in number and importance the higher we ascend the river, those of Upper Egypt being by far the most numerous and interesting. In the whole of Middle Egypt, except a few quite decayed ruins¹⁸, and the antiquities of Arsinoë or Fayoum, not yet sufficiently examined, the Pyramids are the only architectural monuments which now remain; while Upper Egypt, on the contrary, contains all those temples, which, however unintelligible the numerous inscriptions and representations on their walls, are far better calculated by their awful magnitude, their magnificence, and their altogether peculiar style, to give us some idea of what this nation formerly was. This series of monuments commences at Tentyris¹⁹, on the western side of the stream, where the temple, so celebrated for its zodiac, at once inspires the beholder with the idea of a gigantic and massive

¹⁸ In the porticoes of Hermopolis. DENON, plate xxxiii.

¹⁹ The present Dendera, lying almost exactly under 26° N. lat. For a representation of this proud building see DENON, plates xxxviii—xl. Modern researches bring it down to the Greek-Roman period. CHAMPOLLION, *Précis*, p. 387. [It may be worth observing to the English reader, that he will find a very interesting account of this and the other monuments of Egyptian antiquity, here noticed, in the *Encyclop. Metropol.* and in the *Modern Traveller, Egypt*, vol. ii. *Trans.*]

architecture, differing from what any other country on the globe has produced. A glance at this, however, only prepares the astonished traveller for the more magnificent wonders, which await him about twenty miles farther to the south, in the monuments of Thebes, the majestic capital of Jupiter, or the city of Ammon. The whole width of the valley, on both banks of the stream, forming an area of about nine miles from west to east, are covered with the ruins of the most ancient royal city of the world; and where the habitations of the living end, there begin the dwellings of the dead, which extend a considerable way into the western mountains. Temples, whose huge masses tower up like mountains, surrounded by colossi, sphinxes, and obelisks, whose magnitude ensures their continuance, are scattered over the plain. Thousands of years have already passed over them; yet neither the hand of time, nor the destroying ravages of barbarians, have been able to overthrow them. The great temple of Jupiter yet exists at Karnac; the stately palaces of the Pharaohs are still standing at Luxor, and Medinet Abou; the colossus of Memnon one of the wonders of the ancient world; the other temples and colossi, whose number cannot yet be told²⁰, and the royal sepulchres, with their paintings as fresh and uninjured as though they had received the last stroke of the pencil but yesterday, still

²⁰ DENON, plates xlv—l.

remain. From this place to the southern boundary of Egypt, link after link of this chain of monuments follows in rapid succession. Thebes is scarcely quitted before the remains of the ancient *Hermontis*²¹ present themselves; about eighteen miles farther is the beautiful temple of *Esneh*, the ancient *Latopolis*²²; and on the opposite eastern bank of the Nile is what is left of the former *Chnubis*²³. At nearly the same distance, still farther to the south, follows *Edfu*, the *Apollinopolis Magna* of former times, with the most perfect and magnificent of all the temples except that of Thebes²⁴; and to

²¹ DENON, plate li. With *Hermontis* ends the first *livraison* of the splendid work: *Description de l'Égypte*, which begins with Philæ on the southern boundaries. See plates xci—xcviii. At Hermontis, now Erment, is a temple of Typhonius; the exterior is much defaced, but the interior is in good preservation. On one of the ceilings are the signs of the zodiac. See the treatise of M. JOMARD, *Description, Antiquités*, chap. viii; and compare my critique in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1811, pp. 94—98.

²² DENON, plates liii. liv. At Esneh there are also many temples. Of the principal temple the portico, quite entire, is alone visible. This portico is said to belong to the Greek-Roman period. CHAMPOLLION, *Précis*, p. 387. In order to restore the temple itself, which is probably just as well preserved; many houses must be pulled down which are built upon and about it. It is only with considerable toil that the portico can be entered, as the entrance is through a very narrow passage; the view of it however is sufficiently imposing to compensate amply for the trouble, and shows what the whole building must be! See the *Description de Ms. JOLLOIS et DEVILLIERS, Antiquités*, chap. vii. and compare the plates lxxii—xc.

²³ DENON, plate lxxv.

²⁴ DENON, plates lvi—lxviii. in the *Description, Antiquités*, plates xlvi—lxii. with the treatise of M. JOMARD. Modern researches bring down this temple to the period of the Ptolemies; CHAMPOLLION, *Précis*, p. 388. Not however from the inscriptions, but from the style of the architecture. The flat roof of the great temple has borne for a long time a small Arabian village, of miserable mud hovels; and the windows, or openings, intended to admit the light, are now made use of as sinks. The temple, therefore

this immediately follow the monuments of *Elie-thya* ²⁴, *Silsilis* ²⁵, and *Ombos* ²⁶, all on the eastern bank of the river. At a short distance, scarce twenty-five miles farther, we come to the ancient confines of Egypt. It is here in particular that the nation seems almost to have outdone itself in the erection of monuments, as though it would impress strangers, at their first step into their territory, with an idea of their greatness and splendour. Still farther, on the north side of the cataracts, immediately following *Syene*, or *Assouan*, the ancient frontier town of Egypt, lies, in the midst of the stream, the island of Elephantis; and just beyond the rapids, about six miles to the south of Syene, is that of *Philæ*. Both, and especially the latter are full of the

is made the receptacle of every kind of filth, and is now nearly filled up. The magnificent saloons are in this way become caverns; and of the colossal columns the capitals alone jut out above the rubbish. Notwithstanding all this the building is still so well preserved, that only the partition walls of the columns of the portico, and the upper border of the pylones of the external facade (one hundred and ten feet high!), have suffered to any extent. Not a stone in any other part is out of order; and the sculpture work is as free from injury as the architecture. Adjoining the great temple is a smaller, whose ornaments leave no doubt of its having been dedicated to Typhonius. Near to the temples of the benevolent deities it was customary among the Egyptians to build that of the *evil* principle.

²⁴ Highly interesting from the two sepulchral grottoes found there, with paintings representing the domestic life of the Egyptians. *Description*, plates lxxviii—lxxi. I shall again return to these.

²⁵ DENON, plate lv. The present *Selseleh*. In this district are the quarries above-mentioned (p. 67), from which the materials were drawn for the construction of those immense buildings. See the treatise of M. ROZIERE, *Description, Antiquités*, chap. iv. sect. ii. plate xlvii.

²⁶ DENON, plate lxxv. The temples of *Ombos* (the remains of two are found) are nearly destroyed. A view of the ruins, as they now exist, is given, *Description*, plate xxxix—xlvi.

proudest monuments of architecture²⁷; some of which, however, according to the latest discoveries, are said to belong to the Ptolemeian period. But certainly not all. For Philæ was one of the holy places where, in a remote sacred spot, is shown the tomb of Osiris²⁸. The high antiquity of the monuments of Elephantis cannot be doubted. Greeks, Romans, and Arabs, have here erected buildings, which are all scattered in the dust; the monuments of ancient Egypt, some probably a thousand years older than the oldest among them, alone defy destruction; these stand prominent amidst the palm groves which surround them, eternal as nature!

It was absolutely necessary for the prosecution of these researches, to give a clear sketch of this land of marvels, of architecture, and sculpture; although a whole life might be spent

²⁷ DENON, plates lxiii—lxxii. See upon *Elephantis* the treatise of JOMARD, *Description*, chap. iii. and plates xxx-xxxviii. The remains of two temples are still found here of the smaller size; but there is strong reason for believing that a third, much larger, formerly stood here. In the island of Philæ also there were two temples, which are distinguished in the treatise of the deceased LANCRET, *Description des Antiquités*, chap. i. plates i—xxix. by the names of the great, and the western temple. According, however, to late accounts, the island contains the remains of no less than five temples. LETRONNE, *Recherches*, p. 89. They do not rank among the largest temples, but are in fine preservation, and of the highest finish with regard to workmanship. According to the latest information, judging alone from the style, the largest belongs to the period of the Ptolemies; CHAMPOLLION, p. 388. A Greek inscription has been discovered upon the smallest of the temples. LETRONNE, l. c.

²⁸ Upon a small island, which therefore bears the name of Abatos (*ἄβατος*); a name conveying the idea of a retired situation, and likewise that of prohibition to enter it, as it was a sacred place. Conf. LETRONNE, *Recherches*, p. 304. CREUZER, *Commentationes Herodoteæ*, p. 187. So also the ancient temple of Ammon at Meroë, in the foregoing vol. p. 398.

over the delineations of these monuments, which now place them as it were, before us, and over the accurate description of the most ancient and noble among them,—the monuments of Thebes, which we have reserved for a future chapter. A mere glance, however, at the sublime and majestic monuments—and how many others must have been levelled with the dust—contained within the confined strip of the narrow valley of the Nile, must at least produce a conviction, that there did exist a time, when this classic ground was the central point of the civilization of the world, and when its inhabitants must have possessed all that constitutes an opulent and mighty, a refined and cultivated nation.

Middle Egypt also was like Upper Egypt, in having its fertility confined to the banks of the Nile; the valley, therefore, through which it flows, was exclusively the seat of culture. But this valley, which in Upper Egypt is always so contracted, begins here gradually to expand; though its whole breadth as far as Arsinoë, the present Fayoum, scarcely any where exceeds twelve or fifteen miles. A large canal, drawn from, and running parallel with the Nile, on its western side, for nearly one hundred and fifty miles,—well known by the name of Joseph's canal,—serves, as far as it goes, to extend the overflowing of the river. Near Fayoum, however, the valley opens (as the Libyan chain of mountains retires towards the west), and forms a very fruitful province, which is watered by a

branch of Joseph's canal ²⁹. This part of Egypt in distant ages, was celebrated for its stupendous works of art, the most considerable of which was lake Moeris, said, as a reservoir of the Nile, to have secured the fruitfulness of the province. A part of this remarkable lake still exists under the name of lake Kerun ³⁰. Modern research has here, however, confirmed the opinion previously entertained, that this lake cannot be regarded as entirely the work of man's hand, but that art here only assisted and brought into use the work of nature. A greater part of the province of Arsinoë formed a valley, that, by the yearly overflowing of the Nile, was of itself placed under water, which, on the fall of the river, again found a natural passage out, through a gorge on the south-west part of the valley. In this state of things it only required the construction of a few dams and canals, which are more or less still visible, in order to regulate these inundations. Not far from this lake stands one of the greatest edifices of ancient Egypt: the celebrated Labyrinth, of which Herodotus has given a description ³¹. We learn, from more recent accounts, that many remains of ancient Egyptian building and art are still to be found here; even the pyramid of brick, mentioned by

²⁹ The ancient district of Arsinoë.

³⁰ We are indebted to GIRARD for the first accurate description of this remarkable part of the land in, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, tom. iii. p. 329, etc.

³¹ HEROD. ii. 148. He is the only writer who saw it entire. "All the buildings of the Greeks put together," says this far-travelled historian, "could not have cost so much."

- Herodotus, may still be discerned ; but the whole of the buildings are not now only a heap of ruins, but seem, for the most part, to be buried in sand, which has been driven from the desert by the wind ³².

To the north of Arsinoë the Libyan chain again returns to its former distance from the Nile, and, following the course of the river through the remainder of Middle Egypt, leaves the breadth of the valley, in most places, somewhere about nine miles. No buildings are found here as in Upper Egypt, although the city of Memphis, the more modern capital of the kingdom, which seems, indeed, to have emulated Thebes, and is not less celebrated for its temples and palaces, formerly stood here ³³. But if the monuments of the living have passed away, those of the dead still remain. The whole mountain-chain, as well as the sandy desert which runs within the valley at its base, is full of tombs, similar to those which are found in Upper Egypt. This district, however, is particularly distinguished by another species of monuments, which, by their prodigious massiveness, must for

³² The ruins have been examined and described by JOMARD ; nothing is to be seen but immense heap of rubbish. *Description de l'Egypte, Antiquités*, vol. ii. chap. xvii. sect. 19. Belzoni has since visited it, but found nothing but stones strewed about. He crossed the lake, and seems to have sought the remains of the Labyrinth in the wrong place. *Narrative*, p. 378, 379.

³³ The name still exists in the village *Menf*, about twelve or fourteen miles to the south of Cairo, but it lies on the west bank of the river, while Cairo stands on the eastern. The latter it is well known was built by the Arabs.

ever excite the astonishment of mankind—the Pyramids. These are situated sometimes singly, and sometimes in groups, on a strip about five-and-thirty miles long, reaching from Ghizeh, or Djizeh, opposite, in a slanting direction, the present capital Cairo, to beyond Meidun. Many of these are so gone to decay that only uncertain traces of them can now be discovered, while others continue to defy the destroying hand of time, whence it seems evident that their number could at no time be stated with certainty. They all stand upon that great field of death—upon that sterile plain covered with sand and filled with sepulchres, at the foot of the Libyan mountain-chain. Those of Djizeh, opposite Cairo, which are generally understood, when the Pyramids are spoken of, are the first and the highest; they are followed, about nine miles towards the south, by those of Sakkara, near the ancient Memphis, whose magnitude is evinced by the numerous sepulchres, which are found in the waste. Farther on are discovered those of Dashour and others, all, however, more injured than those just mentioned, as far as Meidun³⁴. However uncertain it may be whether they reached beyond this or not, it seems pretty evident that pyramids were never built in Upper Egypt, as there is no reason why they should have gone to ruin sooner than the large tem-

³⁴ The number of pyramids is estimated at about forty; but they vary very much in size. The second pyramid of Djizeh was opened by Belzoni, and one of those at Sakkara by Minutoli: see their *Travels*.

ples³⁵. From recent discoveries it now appears that pyramid-architecture was by no means peculiar to Egypt; they still exist more numerous, though of a less magnitude, in what was the ancient Meroë³⁶.

At the point where the Nile divides into two branches begins Lower Egypt. The extension of its waters extends likewise fertility, which, before confined in Upper and Middle Egypt to the narrow valley, here takes a wider range, and stretches over the plains enclosed by the arms of the river. The western chain, which has hitherto narrowed it, here makes a bend into Libya; the eastern chain ends altogether just below Cairo with the mountain Mokattam. There is a tradition of ancient Egypt, which is mentioned by Herodotus, that the Nile at one time had a different course, and turned towards the Libyan desert. Now if this tradition should be rejected in its fullest extent, and it should not be believed that the *whole* stream took this direction, and that no branch of it penetrated through Lower Egypt to the Mediterranean, yet modern researches have placed it beyond a doubt, that at least a *part* of the stream formerly flowed towards Libya. The valley near the

³⁵ Or is the reason to be found in the difference of the stone which Upper and Middle Egypt produces? Does not the limestone, of which the pyramids are constructed, exist in Upper Egypt, where the sandstone, and farther on, granite prevails? See above, p. 67.

³⁶ See the foregoing volume, p. 386. They differ from the Egyptian by their vestibules, which the latter now have not. Nevertheless, the pyramid opened by Belzoni certainly had a temple before it. *Narrative*, p. 261.

Natron lakes (from which it is only divided by a ridge), which, in the western side of Lower Egypt is known by the name of the waterless sea (*Bahr Bilama*), gives very evident traces that it once formed,—though certainly long before the period to which credible history reaches—the bed of the river ³⁷. The stupendous dam, by which the water was forced to take a more easterly direction, was ascribed by tradition to Menes, the first king of Egypt, and founder of Memphis ³⁸; and gave thereby at once a proof of the high antiquity and importance of this undertaking. In fact, it is easily seen, that it was by this that the channels of the Nile were first driven into their present course, and the Delta rendered capable of being cultivated.

Although the fruitful land becomes much widened in Lower Egypt, yet it must not be taken for granted, that all this part of the country possesses the advantage of fertility. It again fails towards the centre, or in what was called by the Greeks the Delta; and in the districts on both sides of it; in that of the east which is now comprised under the name of Bahareh, and in that of the west called Sharkeyeh. It is true

³⁷ See the admirable description of this valley and of the whole district, for which we are indebted to general Andreossi. *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, i. 223, etc.

³⁸ HEROD. ii. 99. According to his account, the damming was made one hundred stadia (eleven or twelve miles) above Memphis. Andreossi's conjecture, that there was a communication between the Nile and the Waterless Valley, through the valley of Fayoum, is opposed to this; it must have been through a more northern opening in the mountain-chain.

that the western part enjoys the benefit of having on its coast the later capital, Alexandria; but even this city can only obtain its water by a canal from the Nile; and just before its gates opens the desert, which swallows up the remainder of the province. The eastern part, which includes the cities of Heliopolis, or On, and Parbæthus, the modern Belbeis, fares something better; but here again the fertile soil ceases at a short distance from the river, and the isthmus of Suez follows, a barren and waterless waste. Only the country, therefore, between the two extreme arms of the Nile, that of Canopus and of Pelusium, or the Delta, can here come under consideration; and this still shows, in its present almost desolate state, what it must once have been. There can scarcely be a greater contrast than that which the short voyage from Alexandria to Rosetta affords the traveller³⁹. Though he saw about that city only the silent desert, he now suddenly discovers, as he approaches Rosetta and the Nile, nature in her most luxurious abundance, and begins to comprehend how this country might once have been the foremost of the earth.

The numerous cities with which the plains of the Delta were once covered, of which it is enough for our purpose to mention Sais and Naucratis, sufficiently prove the high state of

³⁹ A picture of it is drawn in BROWNE's *Travels*, etc. I purposely mention this writer here, because no one can less deserve the reproach of an embellishing imagination.

cultivation in which this portion of the country formerly existed. This, however, did not begin till long after Upper Egypt had been in a flourishing condition; and, perhaps, did not increase, to any extent, till the latter period of the Pharaohs; when Sais was the usual residence of the kings, and the foundation of Alexandria gave, and preserved to Lower Egypt, that superiority which Upper Egypt had previously enjoyed. But the vestiges of this splendour and greatness, except in the few monuments of ancient Alexandria, are all nearly obliterated; and even the land itself, along the coast, has undergone many changes⁴⁰. Considerable portions of firm land, especially the districts so often mentioned under the name of fens, and inhabited by tribes who lived by tending cattle, are now become lakes, that are either supplied or enlarged by the stoppage of certain branches of the river⁴¹. The ancient lake *Sirbonis*, on the eastern boundary of Egypt,

⁴⁰ A somewhat more accurate account of the interior of Lower Egypt was first given by the French expedition. The usual route of travelling has been from Alexandria up the canal to Rosetta, and thence up the Nile to Cairo. Scarcely any one saw the interior of the country.

⁴¹ The most interesting illustrations of this part are contained in the classic treatise of general ANDREOSSI, upon the lake Menzalé, in *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, i. p. 165. It also decidedly and fully supports the opinion of Herodotus, that the Delta is a gift of the Nile. It is well known that lately this has been contradicted, not only by closet-writers, but even by travellers. The reasons of Andreossi, who was in a situation, from his knowledge of physics and hydrostatics, to go fully into the subject, places it beyond dispute, that the Delta was formed by the sediment of the river, with some assistance from art. The ancient therefore here, as usual, is right.

seems to be completely choked up with sand; on the other hand, the lake of *Tanis* or present Menzaleh, into which three branches of the Nile—that of Pelusium, of Tanis, and Mendes—empty themselves, is now so much enlarged that it swallows up a fourth part of the whole northern coast; and the remains of the cities, which formerly stood on dry land, must now be sought for amidst its waters. The lake of *Butos*, or the present Bourlos, seems in a similar manner, by the flowing of the Sebenytic branch into it, to have much increased in size; but the land between it and the foregoing, where the ancient Bucolic mouth, under the name of Damietta, still discharges a principal branch of the river, preserves its ancient features. The coast to the west of the Delta on the contrary, has been subject to the greatest changes. On the other side of the Bolbitine branch, or the present Rosetta mouth, the ancient branch of Canopus, which no longer reaches the sea, has formed the lake of *Edco*. This is only separated by a narrow strip of land from lake *Madieh* behind Aboukir, which again is divided from lake *Mareotis* by a still narrower isthmus; this latter lake, however, has not at present any thing near the extent it had in antiquity. Lower Egypt, thus gives us a striking example of the great changes which may be made in the features and shape of a country, not only by sudden and great physical convulsions, but by the mere decay of its cul-

ture. Where, indeed, was this more likely to happen than here, where the neglect of the canals and dams alone, would be sufficient to cause such changes ?

This general survey of the situation and features of the land, its gradual formation and cultivation, the great difference and completely opposite nature of its component parts, altogether, must naturally lead us to suppose, that the condition of its inhabitants must not only have been subject to great changes, but also that great dissimilarity must have continually existed among them. I shall now turn from the country, and take a glance at the nation itself; begging the reader's indulgence while I make a few preliminary inquiries concerning them.

The first object of inquiry is the colour, the figure, in short the whole exterior of the inhabitants, so far as it may enable us to unravel the intricate question respecting the race of mankind to which the ancient Egyptians belonged. A problem, indeed, much more difficult to solve, than the reader at first sight could possibly imagine.

There are two sources from which we may draw in our endeavour to determine it: ancient writers, and native monuments. Among the first, the testimony of Herodotus alone would seem sufficient to decide it. He, speaking as an eyewitness, expressly declares the Egyptians

to be a black race, with woolly hair⁴². It easily appears, however, that these assertions must be limited in two ways; first, they apply only to the great body of the people, and not to the upper classes; secondly, the expression does not exactly signify a completely black, but rather a dark brown, nor the hair completely woolly (but rather curly). Another ancient writer upon the colour of the Egyptians determines this, where he calls them brown⁴³. To me the Egyptians seem to have been exactly what the *Copts*, their descendants, now appear to the stranger, who visits them. "I believe," says a modern, who has seen them⁴⁴, "the ancient race of the Egyptians to exist in the presents Copts; a kind of dark coloured Nubians (*basannés*), much as they are seen on the ancient monuments; flat foreheads, half woolly hair, the eyes rather staring, high hips, the nose rather short than flat, a large mouth with thick lips, placed rather distant from the nose, a thin and poor beard, few graces of body, etc." "The colour of the skin," says a later traveller, "is nearly the natural colour, if we assume that the Egyptians were of the same colour as their descendants, the present Copts, of whom some are as fair as Europeans⁴⁵." However true,

⁴² HEROD. ii. 104. He mentions this incidentally, in order to prove that the Colchians, who had this colour and hair, were truly Egyptian colonists.

⁴³ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, xxii. 16. Homines Egyptii plerique subfusculi sunt, et atrati, magisque mœstiores, gracilenti et aridi.

⁴⁴ DENON, i. 136.

⁴⁵ BELZONI, *Narrative*, p. 239.

therefore, the statement of Herodotus may be, the reader must guard against giving it a meaning which it will not bear. Besides, few countries are so much exposed to the invasion of foreigners, and therefore to so many intermixtures, as Egypt, which is surrounded on three sides by nomad hordes ; nor so much visited by strangers, as it has always been a principal place of trade. To this it may be added, that the question here respects a period comprising above a thousand years (for so long certainly had Egypt been civilized before the time of Herodotus), during which many changes must naturally have taken place.

The truth of this remark will be best confirmed, by the monuments of ancient Egypt which still exist ; especially by those which have been lately discovered. A number of variously sized idols has hitherto been generally referred to, from which we should judge of the physiognomy of the people. I confess, that in the least of these I find something of the Negro kind⁴⁶ ; but then it must be considered, that we can neither fix the time when, nor the part of the land where, they were made ; a question of

⁴⁶ I refer here to the engravings in CAYLUS, *Recueil* V. plates i—xxv. ; as well as to WINKELMANN, *Storia delle Arti*, etc. i. tab. iv. v. ed. FEA. Many of these, and other heads, no doubt represent the common Egyptian features, and are any thing but beautiful, according to our ideas. In the ideal portraits, the sphinx's head comes the nearest, in my opinion, to the Egyptian profile ; but I do not remember more than one of these which has any thing of the Negro-cast, and that is, the colossal head at the pyramid of Ghizeh.

the highest importance, because, as will be seen hereafter, every part of the country had not always the same fate with the rest. It is most agreeable to the rules of sound criticism, first to have recourse to those monuments—the temples and obelisks—of which we can with certainty pronounce, that they belong to the flourishing period of the Pharaohs. These are nearly all covered with works of art, which contain a great number of human figures, either of deities or men, and on that account deserve first to be examined. They acquire, moreover, a great additional value, from their clearly indicating an endeavour in the artists to copy nature, and from their faithfully representing the peculiarities of the different people, their features, nature of their hair, and so forth. The same proofs that this was the case are found here, upon the temples of the Thebais, as upon the ruins of Persepolis in Asia; necessity must have led to it, if the historical meanings were wished to be readily understood, and from this it probably became a rule of ancient art. It is impossible, however, to compare these monuments, as they are now delineated, and to consider the people who erected them to have been Negroes, or any thing like Negroes. I appeal here to the great historical bas-reliefs upon the temples at Thebes, with which Denon has first made us acquainted ⁴⁷. The figure of the king

⁴⁷ DENON, plates cxxxiii. cxxxiv.; and after him, in numerous copper-plates in the great work on Egypt.

comes before us at different times, and upon different occasions. It is always the same head; so that, according to the writer himself, it seems to be a portrait—or rather an idealised portrait. But it is so far from having the least appearance of African lineaments, that it seems rather to approach the Grecian profile⁴⁸. Just as little resemblance is there to be seen of the Negro in more than a hundred heads of his attendants, as well warriors as priests. I appeal as well to the other reliefs upon all the temples above Thebes, so far as they are made known to us in the great work upon Egypt. I appeal, finally, to the very accurately finished plate of the representations upon the obelisks, for which we are indebted to Zoëga⁴⁹. Compare also the heads of the sphinxes and deities upon the top of the obelisk on mount Citatorio, and the similar fragment of another in the museum of cardinal Borgia, and see if there be any thing to be found of a Negro character!

Should even these proofs fail, the Egyptians have left us still another, in the pictures on the walls in their chambers of the dead. The colours in these are still so fresh and perfect, as to excite the astonishment of every one who examines them. The subjects mostly relate to the domestic life of the Egyptians; the human

⁴⁸ The correctness of the drawing is here so much the less subject to doubt, because the artist has evidently enlarged the head of the king. Plate cxxxiv. N°. 42.

⁴⁹ ZOËGA, table ii. iv.

figure is consequently very frequent. Every thing else is faithfully copied from nature, and therefore it is fair to conclude that these are also. Bruce had already called the attention of the world to these pictures in the royal sepulchres of Thebes⁵⁰; but it was the French expedition that first gave us a clear notion of them, by the labours of the learned who took the pains to examine them. The first striking specimen of them is given in the sepulchres of Eluthias in the Thebais, the true school for Egyptian antiquities, because they represent their whole manner of living, and almost every part of their domestic economy⁵¹. Women as well as men are here portrayed; “the men are red; the women yellow; the clothes white; the hair of the men is very dark, curled, but not short, as among the Negroes⁵².” Still clearer proofs are found in the royal sepulchres at Thebes, and, above all, in that most magnificent one which was opened by Belzoni. In these the light and dark men are expressly distinguished; and, indeed, in such a manner, that the former are represented as the victors, or rulers, and the latter as the conquered, or

⁵⁰ BRUCE, *Travels*, i. plate iii. iv.

⁵¹ See the coloured engravings in the great work of DENON, *Description de l’Egypte*, plates lxviii—lxxi.; and compare the excellent treatise of COSTAZ (containing more information than many a thick volume), in the *Mémoires sur l’Egypte*, p. 134—158.

⁵² COSTAZ, l. c. p. 156. The Egyptians had, as is there remarked, only six colours, but understood nothing of mixing these together. We need not wonder then at their not being able to paint exactly the colour of the skin.

prisoners. "I remarked," says Denon⁵³, "many decapitated figures; these were all dark, while those who had struck off their heads, and still stood sword in hand, were red." But the most decisive proof is in that of Belzoni, where not merely the light and dark, but in the ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, the three principal colours, white, brown, and black, are distinguished from one another with the nicest accuracy⁵⁴. Indeed, when Denon descended one of the openings, which lead to these subterraneous abodes, he found art in a still more certain manner confirmed by nature. A number of mummies, which were not banded up, showed plainly that the hair was long and lank, and the shape of the head itself approximating to the beautiful⁵⁵. There is no need, however, to journey to Egypt to be convinced of this; the descriptions, and the mummies preserved at Munich are quite sufficient to ensure conviction⁵⁶.

⁵³ DENON, *Voyage*, ii. 278.

⁵⁴ BELZONI, plate vi. vii. viii. No doubt whatever can be opposed to the question, whether the Egyptians wished to give the proper colour of the skin in their paintings—as far as their colours would allow. Hence it is clear that they not merely endeavoured to represent the colour, but also the physiognomy of the nations in the truest manner possible. Who can mistake the Jewish physiognomy among the captives in plate vii.?

⁵⁵ DENON, ii. p. 314. Compare with all this, in particular the sculptures from the tombs of *Silsilis*, in Upper Egypt, in DENON, plate lxxvi. No. 2, 3, 4. These are evidently representations of the deceased; and certainly No. 2 and 4 of whole families. They are, therefore, the best adapted to enable us to form a judgment of the national physiognomy.

⁵⁶ See the exact description of them in the treatise of H. D. WAAGEN, p. 14.

To this body of evidence there are still documentary proofs to be added: two commercial contracts, of which the fac-simile of one is at Berlin, and the original of the other at Paris. We are indebted for their interpretation to professor Boeckh⁵⁷, and H. S. Martin⁵⁸. They certainly both belong to the period of the Ptolemies, but the names which occur show that the persons were Egyptians. These, in both, are described according to their external appearance, and, of course, their colour. In the Berlin document, the seller, Pamenthes, is called of a *darkish brown* colour⁵⁹; and the buyer, *honey-coloured* or *yellowish*; the same epithet is conferred on the buyer, Osarreres, in the Parisian one. The shape of the nose and face is also stated, but so as not to raise the least idea of a Negro physiognomy.

Two facts may be deduced from all this, as historically demonstrated: one, that even among the Egyptians themselves there was a difference of colour; as individuals are expressly distinguished from one another by being of a darker or lighter complexion. The other, that the higher castes of warriors and priests, according to the representations on all the monu-

⁵⁷ Explanation of an Egyptian document upon papyrus, in the Greek cursive writing, of the year 900 B. C., by A. BOECKH, Berlin, 1821.—The fac-simile was sent to Berlin by Minutoli.

⁵⁸ In the *Journal des Savants*, Sept. 1822.

⁵⁹ μελάγχρωσ and μελίχρος. The word μελάγχρωες is also used by Herodotus; and is therefore properly translated, where he uses it, by *swarthy*, or dark-coloured, and not by black.

ments executed in colours, belonged to the fairer class. Their colour is brownish, something between the white and black, or swarthy. It cannot, indeed, be maintained, that the colour was exactly the same as that appropriated to them on the monuments; but it was become a fixed and settled type, and how could it have become so if it had not followed nature, when there was no want of means to represent white and black colours. In like manner the yellow or yellowish complexion became the standing type for women. The deities, on the contrary, both male and female, had no general distinctive colour, but the individuals among them differ.

These proofs, which seem to me irrefragable, will unquestionably acquire still greater force, when these monuments shall have been more carefully examined, and more completely copied. As it is, we may conclude, that, though it be allowed that there was a dark-coloured race in Egypt, it certainly was not the only one; but a tribe of fairer, though perhaps not completely white (for with the limited number of colours of which the Egyptians made use, and these without intermixing them, it was nearly impossible for them to give very exactly the colour of the skin), had at least for a certain period, spread themselves over Upper Egypt. We may, moreover, conclude, that this was the ruling tribe, to which the king, the priests, and warriors belonged; and that the magnificent

monuments of Egyptian art, in this district, were erected by them.

The case is very different, notwithstanding its connection with the foregoing subject, when we come to examine into the descent of this fairer race, and to inquire whether it was of African origin or not? I have observed, upon another occasion, that this question cannot be determined from history. Can we, indeed, trace the origin of other nations, the Greeks, for example, or even our own, from public records? Recourse, therefore, can only be had to such arguments as may be drawn from the nature of the people themselves, both as regards their external appearance and their civilization.

While little or nothing was known of the valley, through which the Nile holds its course, above the confines of Egypt, with its monuments and inhabitants, it was impossible to answer this question with any satisfaction. But since the obscurity which hung over this region has been cleared up, the matter has assumed altogether a different appearance. The southern frontiers of proper Egypt form merely a political boundary; the whole strip of land from the distant Meroë to where the Nile pours its flood into the Mediterranean, appears like a world by itself, cut off from the rest of the globe⁶⁰. Neither in their speech, their writing, nor their religion, have the inhabitants of this strip of

⁶⁰ See the discussion upon Meroë in the former volume.

land any thing in common with the rest of the world. The same deities which were worshipped in Meroë, were worshipped down to this nethermost boundary. We recognise the same art in their buildings, their sculptures, and their paintings. We recognise just the same writing; just the same hieroglyphics upon the monuments of Meroë as upon those of Thebes; and if, as I have remarked, this writing could only be taken from the language which was spoken by the people, it may thence be concluded, that the same language was spread over this whole district⁶¹. To all this may be added, that the best informed travellers and most accurate observers recognise the same colour, the same features, and mostly the same fashions and weapons in the inhabitants of the upper part of the valley, as they find portrayed on the Egyptian monuments. It was upon these grounds that I was induced, in the foregoing volume, to express my opinion, that it was the race, of which we now discover the remains in the Nubian—though by loss of liberty and religion much degenerated,—which once was the ruling race in Egypt.

How could this culture, bearing as it does, in

⁶¹ It is true, that we have no conclusive evidence respecting the ancient language of the Ethiopians in Meroë, and its relation to the Egyptian. But their close affinity is proved by a very remarkable passage in Herodotus. In trying to demonstrate that the Ammonians were a colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, he says: *φωνην μεταξί αμφοτερων νομιζοντες*. HEROD. ii. 42. Would this have any sense at all, if the languages had been wholly different?

a much higher degree than the Greek, the stamp of locality, have been introduced from some other quarter? Here we do know its progress, though we can form but a very confused notion of its origin. But can we comprehend how this valley of the Nile, everywhere surrounded by the desert,—this strip, which alone allowed the soil its produce, almost without toil, the father-land of agriculture, and of a religion everywhere referring to it,—how here a condensed population came pressed together, and with it a rising commerce, for which the stream, the only one in north Africa, which deserves the name offers its assistance? This race did not come from Arabia; their colour, language, and manner of life, were different, and continued different, though Arabian tribes became native in Africa. The Indians, then, are now the only nation known to us, that is left, whence the Egyptians could have descended. But though it cannot be denied, that some Indians found their way thither, of which indeed there is an historical proof⁶²; yet, as this could not take place otherwise than by sea, single colonies at the most—the Indians themselves never had a

⁶² SYNCELLUS, p. 120, ed. Venet. Αἰθίοπες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνασάντες πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ὤκησαν. Æthiopes, ab Indo fluvio profecti, supra Ægyptum sedem sibi eligerunt. This migration, however, did not happen before the reign of Amenophis or Memnon, belonging to the eighteenth dynasty; consequently in the flourishing period of the kingdom of Thebes. Neither the origin of the nation, therefore, nor its cultivation can be derived from that. The expression *supra Ægyptum* must be taken in a wider sense.

navy—could cross over ; but we see not how a whole nation could. And would not such colonies, instead of penetrating so far into the interior, even to the banks of the river, have established themselves, or been obliged to establish themselves on the coast ?

I shall not repeat, but refer to what is said upon this subject in the foregoing volume. It would be rash to deny that no political or religious shoot could have been transplanted from India to Ethiopia ; but certainly nothing more than shoots, in which every foreign trace was soon lost by their being grafted in a foreign soil and climate.

From what has been already said, it must appear very evident, that the manners and habits of the people of Egypt could not everywhere be the same. Local circumstances rendered this impossible ; for many districts of Egypt permitted only this or that particular sort of life, and would allow of no other. The inhabitants of the eastern mountainous regions necessarily followed a pastoral life, as did also the tribes in the fenny districts of the Delta ; their soil was unfit for agriculture. Other tribes, close to the Nile, were fishermen and mariners, as the nature of their situation made it more profitable than handicraft. But it is very apparent, that the civilized part of the nation, dwelling in the plains of the valley, carried on all the chief branches of domestic business, in all of which they arrived at great perfection, which is ascertained from the

pictures in the grottoes so often mentioned, where they are all found portrayed. Agricultural occupations—plowing, sowing, digging, harrowing, reaping, binding, treading out the corn by oxen, and storing it; fishing, with the angle as well as nets, and salting the fish; hunting; the vintage and its various labours; cattle-breeding, and herds of kine, horses, asses, sheep; the navigation of the Nile, as well with sails as oars; the weighing of living beasts for sale—all this is here represented.

This difference in descent and manner of life, likewise sheds a light upon that celebrated institution, which this nation had in common with the Hindoos, with whom they seem thus early to have had some connection:—the division into castes, or hereditary ranks, of which, according to the most creditable accounts, there were seven in Egypt. The two most honourable were the priests and warriors; the next, merchants and shopkeepers, and mariners; then two castes of herdsmen; to which must be added—but not till the latter period of the Pharaohs—the interpreters or brokers⁶³. Although the origin of

⁶³ HEROD. ii. 164. He here calls the castes γένηα, as he generally calls the various tribes of a nation, as for example that of the Medes in lib. i. 101, that of the Persians in i. 125. The accounts of Herodotus have certainly a much higher claim to belief than those of DIODORUS, i. p. 85, who only enumerates five classes (namely, the two more noble, the husbandmen, the herdsmen, and the handicraftsmen), as they do not agree in themselves. The reader may compare the passage in ISAIAH, xix. 7—21, where the prophet enumerates the Egyptian classes according to their leading circumstances. The reader will easily perceive the classes of agriculturists, herdsmen, fishermen, or navigators, the trading class, and the priests. The mention of the warrior caste would have been contrary to his object.

castes among these nations extends beyond the period of history, and strict historical evidence cannot, therefore, be deduced, yet it is exceedingly probable, that the difference of descent, connected with the modes of life, first laid the foundation of it, and that the various castes at first were various tribes⁶⁴. There is no doubt but policy, in the infancy of civil society, expected to find in this rigid separation of professions, a security for their preservation and perfection, and for their farther extension; neither is there any doubt, but that accidental causes might, and indeed did give rise to new castes⁶⁵; the only question here is, from what cause did this institution spring originally?

This general view of the country and people will in some measure clear the way for the following discussions. But it will be necessary to mention, previously to taking a single step on our journey, that we are venturing into a region where the clear torch of history is gone out, and only a dim glimmering is left. It is only general masses that the most careful examiner can hope to discover; he who should attempt to point out clearly particular objects, will give us an illusory *ignis-fatuus* instead of the steady light of truth.

⁶⁴ See the disquisition, MEINERS *de Origine Castarum apud Ægyptios et Indos*, in *Comment. Soc. Scient. Götting.* vol. x. p. 184, etc.

⁶⁵ As to that of the interpreters in Egypt, in the reign of Psammetichus.

EGYPTIANS.

CHAPTER II.

Political State of the Ancient Egyptians.

AND I WILL SET THE EGYPTIANS AGAINST THE EGYPTIANS, CITY AGAINST CITY, KINGDOM AGAINST KINGDOM. ISAIAH, xix. 2.

A FULL inquiry into the political state of ancient Egypt, necessarily comprises two questions: first, what general revolutions the country or nation had passed through, in a political point of view, previously to the decline of the throne of the Pharaohs? secondly, what was the state of things, with regard to the organization of the government, and the internal relations of the state, in the flourishing period of the Egyptian empire?

The origin of states usually takes place long before the period of authentic history; how much more then is this to be expected in a country, which, if not the first, was certainly one of the first in which states became formed. No more, therefore, can be here expected than that we should follow the obscure traces which history has left of its origin.

According to its own traditions, Egypt was originally inhabited by savage tribes, without tillage or government, who lived upon such fruits as the earth spontaneously brought forth, and upon fish, with which the Nile plentifully supplied them; while its buildings merely consisted of a few huts made of reeds! The mode of life of a part of its inhabitants, the shepherd and fishing tribes, in later times, evidences the truth of this account¹. The history of the political growth of Egypt, however, does not depend upon the history of these tribes; but, as the still existing monuments evince, upon a race of different descent and colour; who, settling among these barbarians, in the fertile part of the land, especially in the valley of the Nile, became the builders of cities, the constructors of those proud monuments, and the founders of states; joining those ruder tribes more or less to themselves, or bringing them under their subjection. Thus they established a dominion, not so much by force as by superior knowledge and civilization connected with religion. The Egyptians themselves express this, when they ascribe the foundation of their civilization to their gods, particularly to Osiris, Isis, and Ammon².

But if in the whole range of Egyptian antiquities there is to be found one proposition less

¹ DIODORUS, i. p. 52. ISAIAH, xix. 8, 9, 10.

² Ibid. i. p. 55.

open to contradiction than another, it is, that civilization in general, and therefore more especially political improvement, did not spread from the sea inland, but rather from south to north. According to the proper accounts of the nation, Upper Egypt was more early civilized than Middle Egypt: and there was a time when the name of Thebais was generally synonymous with the civilized portion of Egypt³. It is equally certain that Lower Egypt was not cultivated till after both those portions: this observation is of more importance, because it marks a *successive* progress in the civilization of Egypt, and confutes an opinion which long prevailed in history. There was a time when Egypt was considered, even from its origin, as one great kingdom, which, through a long series of centuries, had endured without revolution, or at least without division. The tone in which many ancient writers, in other respects very worthy of belief, especially Herodotus, speak of Egypt, seems to justify this opinion; and although the fragments of Manetho, and later writers who borrowed from him, would seem, by containing catalogues of Egyptian princes in various states⁴, to contradict

³ HEROD. ii. 15.

⁴ Towards a review of these sources, I offer the following remarks: When the Ptolemies ruled in Egypt, the study of the history of the country flourished, among the other branches of learning which they patronised. Ptolemy the second caused an Egyptian priest, MANETHO, to compile, from the archives of the priests, a history of Egypt; and in the execution of this task he has been accused of frauds, of too grave a nature for it to

this, yet the learned are rather inclined to consider these as spurious or uncertain, than to give up the commonly received opinion.

These ideas require now no farther confutation. The researches of more modern writers

be possible for them to have been committed in so enlightened an age as that was, although slight mistakes might have crept in. His work received some additions from Eratosthenes, who arranged the succession of the ancient Theban kings. Other Greeks also, about the same time, made similar attempts; but the fruit of their labours, as well as that of Manetho, has been for a long period lost. Fragments, however, were preserved by Josephus in his Discourse against Apion. These writings, however, were made particular use of by the Christian writers, in their endeavours to arrange the chronology of the Bible; only, indeed, according to their hypothesis. This is first observable in JULIUS AFRICANUS, in his *Chronicon*, composed in the third century; and by EUSEBIUS, who again made use of them in the fourth. The work of Julius Africanus is likewise lost; of the Greek original of Eusebius we have only some fragments; but of a Latin translation by St. Jerome, we have the second part, or the Canons. The chronicles of both however were again made use of, at the beginning of the ninth century, by GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS, a monk, in his Chronicle, which, in this manner became the principal source. But in this matter, the last ten years has supplied us, very unexpectedly, with a great treasure. The Chronicle of Eusebius, complete, as well as the first book, or the *Isagoge*, was again discovered in an *Armenian* translation at Constantinople. The first edition of this, but interpolated, appeared at Milan; and, shortly after, the genuine edition, with a literal Latin translation, critical notes, and a preface giving all the explanation required, by the learned monk, AUCHER, *Eusebii Phamphili Chronicon bipartitum, nunc primum ex Armenico textu in Latinum conversum, adnotationibus auctum, Græcis fragmentis exornatum, opera P. JOANNIS BAPTISTÆ AUCHER, Ancyрани, Monachi Armeni; Venetiis*, 1818, 4to. This edition is what I used. We there have the statements of Manetho at best only at second or third hand, and, without doubt, often disfigured in particulars, though not, on that account, upon the whole. The first modern who endeavoured to compile from these sources a chronological history of the *different* states, which often flourished in Egypt at the same time, was MARSHAM, in his *Canon Chronicus*, Lond. 1672; a work which displays as much acuteness as learning. In later times, GATTERER, in his *Synchronistischen Universalhistorie*, has endeavoured to reduce the *Dynasties of Manetho* to a better order; without, however, even satisfying himself, † *Weltgeschichte nach ihrem ganzen Umfange*, p. 16. While our means continue so scanty, it will always be a hopeless task, to settle here an accurate chronology in particulars.

have placed it beyond a doubt, that Egypt in its earlier period contained *many contemporary kingdoms or states*, but which, nevertheless, became united, somewhat later, into one great empire. And if a single doubt had remained upon this head, it has been entirely done away with, from the time we have possessed the complete Chronicle of Eusebius, by his single testimony, that many dynasties must be considered as contemporary, and distinct from one another⁵. But farther: this is proved, by a passage in Josephus, to have been also the opinion of Manetho himself; for, according to his own account, the Hyksos were expelled by the king of Thebes, and the *other* kings of Egypt⁶. The question here, however, extends over a period of at least eighteen centuries, during which, previous to the Persian invasion, Egypt was governed, for the most part, by native kings alone. How many changes might have come to pass in this long period? How many states might have arisen and fallen in this long lapse of ages, without history having preserved even the remembrance of their name?

⁵ Porro si quoque valde auctus temporum numerus reperiatur, tamen et illius diligenter rationem scrutari oporteat; forte enim iisdem temporibus multos reges Ægyptiorum simul fuisse contigerit. Siquidem Thinitas aiunt et Memphitas, Saitasque et Æthiopes regnasse, ac interim alios quoque; et sicut mihi videtur alios alibi; minime autem alterum alteri successisse; sed alios hic, aliosque illic regnare oportuisse. EUSEBII, *Chronicon*, p. 201, 202.

⁶ Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαϊδος, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησιν (ὁ Μανέθων) ἐπανάστασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας. Reges Thebaidos et reliquæ Ægypti invasionem fecisse dicit Manetho contra pastores. JOSEPH. c. *Apion*, i. p. 1040.

How many, indeed, *must* have sprung up and declined, unless we give to their institutions a firmness and durability, which is no longer the lot of human things ?

The dynasties of Manetho, unfortunately, contain but little beyond mere catalogues of kings, but they are, notwithstanding this, of the greatest importance for Egyptian antiquity ; not only because they lead us to correct notions respecting that, but, more particularly, because they likewise make known to us the names of the cities in which these kings reigned ; and, consequently, point out the places where the most ancient Egyptian states were founded. In a nation, whose whole being, government, and civilization, were so much formed according to the locality, these give the first ideas, the foundation, upon which all farther inquiry must be built. The most ancient Egyptian states, according to the unanimous tradition of Manetho and others, were altogether in the valley of the Nile, on both sides the river. The nature of things determines this, because, in Lower Egypt, or the Delta, the soil itself was not formed till afterwards. The kingdoms of Upper and Middle Egypt, mentioned by Manetho, are, beginning from the southern frontiers, the state of *Elephantis*, of *Thebes* or *Diospolis*, of *This*, afterwards called *Abydos*, of *Heracleopolis*, and of *Memphis*, not far from the place where the Nile divides. States in Lower Egypt or the Delta, are not mentioned till towards the end of his

dynasties, namely, the states of *Tanis*, *Bubastus*, *Mendes*, *Sebennytus*, and *Sais*.

None of these states appear, according to his account, to have continued without interruptions ; the successions of their kings are broken off and renewed ; revolutions, of which we know nothing, destroyed and suppressed them, till under more favourable circumstances, they again arose and flourished. Yet, however little our information may be, respecting the vicissitudes to which these states were subject, they cannot appear extraordinary, if we bear in mind, that the narrow valley of the Nile, as well as the Delta, in which these states were situated, was everywhere surrounded by barbarous nomad hordes, whose inroads and wars must have occasioned many revolutions. An accurate chronology, showing how far they were contemporary, or followed one another,—were interrupted, and again continued,—lies beyond the scope of these researches ; all that could be said upon the subject, with any show of probability, has long been published⁷ ; it appears, however, from the whole, as most evident, that Thebes and Memphis were the mightiest and most durable among them.

The way in which those earliest states of Egypt were formed, and to whom they were indebted for their origin and civilization, will become the first objects of my attention.

⁷ GATTERER'S *Synchronistische Universalhistorie*, p. 301, etc. and also his later *Lehrbuch*.

I venture, however, to hope that the groundwork for the settlement of these points has been already laid, in the last chapter of the preceding volume. It has there been shown how one religion, that of Ammon and his kindred gods, connected with their temples, spread over the whole valley of the Nile. We have there become acquainted with an extensive commercial intercourse, comprising the southern portion of the globe, from India to Africa; we have there pointed out certain places, which were, at the same time, the chief seats of religion and trade; we have already seen examples in Meroë and Ammonium, that the sanctuaries which were erected at these places, became likewise the central points of states, where, very naturally, from this very cause, a priest caste became the ruling order; finally, we have seen that the extension of religion and trade, by the foundation of new sanctuaries in distant, but suitable and convenient districts, was no uncommon circumstance⁸.

A general glance at ancient Egypt will suffice to convince the reader that these ideas are equally applicable to it, and that much happened there in just the same manner. Did

⁸ I trust I shall be excused for referring here to the very remarkable circumstance, mentioned in the foregoing volume (of which Burkhardt has informed us, without thinking of antiquity, and therefore not at all with a view to confirm my opinion), that there now exists, almost on the very site of ancient Meroë, a completely similar *priestly trading state*, in the small state of *Damer*, which is described in the preceding volume of this work, p. 419, note. Can there well be a better commentary upon antiquity.

not the whole civilization of the people also there depend upon a ruling caste of priests? And are not traces of this at all times visible, notwithstanding the numerous revolutions which have taken place? Does not Egypt exhibit in the period of her highest civilization, the form of a complete hierarchy; in which every germ, that in a less fortunate soil must have perished, by favourable circumstances, in various ways shot forth?

History also adds its mites, which evidently extend and explain this view of the subject. Thebes, as well as the states in general of Upper Egypt, are called, in the proper annals of the priests, colonies from Meroë in Ethiopia⁹; and at Thebes the service of Jupiter Ammon, whose temple was the common centre of the state, gives of itself a striking proof that such was the case. Elephantis most likely owed its origin to the navigation of the Nile. It lay just at the point where the river became navigable without interruption; and where navigation must have assumed a new shape, "as portable vessels were no longer required"¹⁰. Memphis, whose

⁹ DIODORUS, i. p. 175, 176.

¹⁰ The objection, that so small an island as Elephantis could not have formed a state, is very easily removed; as it is only said here, that it became by its sanctuary the central point, to which many of the neighbouring districts might have belonged. In the statements of JOMARD, *Description*, chap. iii. p. 18, it is rendered probable, that the name Elephantis was only a translation of Philæ; as *Fil*, or *Phil*, in the Ethiopian language, is as much as to say *elephant*; and this name might have included the small islands in general, which altogether might have formed a state. I leave this undetermined, but it is important to remark, that what HERODOTUS, ii. 28, says of Elephantis is necessarily to be understood of *Philæ*.

situation was so remarkable from the dams and embankments, is called a colony of Thebes¹¹. The other cities of Egypt, likewise, derive their descent—directly or indirectly—from Ethiopia, of which they considered themselves as colonies, and of which their religion and institutions furnish abundant proof¹².

From this body of evidence, then, we come to the conclusion, that the same race which ruled in Ethiopia and Meroë, spread themselves by colonies, in the first instance, to Upper Egypt; that these latter colonies, in consequence of their great prosperity, became, in their turn, the parents of others; and, as in all this they followed the course of the river, there gradually became founded a succession of colonies, in the valley of the Nile, which, according to the usual custom of the ancient world, were, probably, at first, independent of each other, and therefore formed just so many little states¹³. Though with the promulgation of their religion, either that of Ammon himself, or of his kindred deities and temple companions, after whom even the settlements were named, the extension of trade was the principal motive which tempted colonists from Meroë to the countries beyond the desert;

¹¹ DIODORUS, i. p. 60.

¹² Ibid. i. p. 175.

¹³ This outspreading, nevertheless, must not be understood to have taken place, step by step, in exact geographical order. That there was not, indeed, even a mutual movement, or reaction from Egypt upon Ethiopia is by no means denied, I have already stated in the foregoing volume, p. 420, to which I now refer.

yet there were many other causes, such as the fertility of the land, and the facility of making the rude native tribes subservient to themselves, which, in a period of tranquillity, must have promoted the prosperity, and accelerated the gradual progress of this colonization. The advantages which large streams offer, by facilitating the means of communication, are so great, that it is a common occurrence in the history of the world, to see civilization spreading on their banks. The shores of the Euphrates and Tigris, of the Indus and Ganges, of the Kiangh and Hoangho, afford us as plain proofs of this as the banks of the Nile.

This view of the subject is not only consonant to the nature of things in general, but there are other proofs, derived from the *political division of the land*, under the later government of Egypt, which confirm it.

The fertile portion of Egypt, for example, was divided into certain *nomes* or *districts*, which are found mentioned, upon various occasions, even under the Ptolemies. It was, however, a primeval institution, which had descended from the times of the Pharaohs,—for the Egyptians themselves imputed it to Sesostris¹⁴; and this division continued both during the time of the Ptolemies and the Romans.

It requires, however, but a passing glance at the history of Egypt, to perceive, that although

¹⁴ DIODORUS, i. p. 64.

this continued as a whole, it was yet subject to numerous alterations in particulars. Scarcely any two writers agree respecting the number of nomes; and the confusion becomes still greater when we attempt to compare their separate names with one another. D'Anville has collected together, upon his map, fifty-three of them, and yet this does not include all that are mentioned by Herodotus. Strabo¹⁵ enumerates thirty-six; Pliny, and others, various numbers: differences which cannot astonish us when we consider the number of political changes which Egypt had experienced with regard to its boundaries.

I shall leave it to some future historian to trace out the extent of these changes. For the present discussion, the only material question is, how did this division arise, and what was its original form?

On these points Herodotus again becomes the only historian from whom we can expect any information. When he visited Egypt, many lesser parts of this system might very possibly have been changed; but it had not yet given way to a Greek or Roman division into provinces. Traces of what it had originally been must have been preserved, or were at least too easy to be obtained, to have escaped the observation of so minute an inquirer as Herodotus.

One fact, which a little attention to the sub-

¹⁵ STRABO, p. 1154. See also DIODORUS, l. c.; cf. PLIN. v. 9.

ject alone places before us, and which necessarily leads to still farther conjecture, is, that this division into nomes was, in a certain degree, connected with the objects and form of worship in various parts of Egypt. In this nome, he says, was this or that deity revered, were these or those animals held sacred; while in another it was otherwise. This remark at once leads us to adopt the idea, that in this, as well as in almost every institution, religion and state-policy were most intimately united. The following passage from Herodotus, conjoined with what has already been said upon the formation of the Egyptian states, will, I think, place the obscure question respecting the origin of nomes, which D'Anville held it impossible to solve, in its fullest light ¹⁶.

“Those,” says Herodotus, “who have founded the sanctuary of the Theban Jupiter, *or* belong to the Theban nomes, abstain from sheep, and slaughter goats; but those who have established the sanctuary of Mendes, *or* belong to the Mendean nomes, abstain from goats and slaughter sheep instead.”

This testimony of the historian seems to me so clear, precise, and certain, that I think no farther doubt can remain upon the origin and earliest form of the Egyptian nomes. They evidently, at their origin, were appended to the temples. Every new settlement of the

¹⁶ D'ANVILLE, *Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, p. 34.

priest caste, with the territory that formed it, constituted one of these nomes. And every such nome was distinguished from the others by the form of worship introduced into it, which was every where modelled according to local circumstances.

At their first origin, therefore, these Egyptian nomes were just so many independent states of the priest caste; and this division into nomes could never become the general division of the country, till the whole of Egypt, or the separate states of which it was composed, should be united into one large kingdom. It is, therefore, in this sense that the Egyptian tradition ascribes this division to *Sesostris*; because he was sole monarch of all Egypt.

Thus, therefore, we here arrive, by another, and, assuredly, by a more certain way, according to history, at the same conclusion to which our foregoing researches have already brought us, namely, that "The most ancient states of this country were originally settlements of the priest caste, who, by accustoming the inhabitants to fixed dwellings, and to agriculture, by the introduction of a religious worship formed according to the locality, and supported by local circumstances, wove a political band by which they connected these rude tribes with themselves."

The central point of such a state, therefore, was always, in the first place, a temple, about which a city became formed. "A nome," says

an Egyptian Father of the Church, “is a name given by the Egyptians to a city, with its surrounding territory, and the villages lying therein ¹⁷.” Even the names of the Egyptian cities afford a proof of this; as we know, from many examples, that such cities had two names, one sacred, which was given it by the priests, and taken from their protecting deity, the other profane, adopted from some accidental cause. Thus Thebes was also called the City of Ammon; Memphis, the City of Phtha; Heliopolis, the City of Rhé, or Helios of On, etc. ¹⁸. Nevertheless, these double names, so far as I have been able to discover, were never conferred upon any cities, except the capitals of the nomes containing the chief temple, and consequently forming the metropolis of the state.

The particular fortunes of these little states, their rise and their fall, are quite unknown. In the common course of affairs, some would flourish while others declined, and the more powerful obtain a dominion over the weak; so that it is nothing extraordinary to find two of them, Thebes and Memphis, elevating themselves above the rest, and swallowing them up. It happened in Egypt as in Phœnicia, where the various cities, likewise colonies of one another,

¹⁷ CYRILL. *ad Jes.* 19, 11. Νομός δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκάστη πόλις, καὶ αἱ περιουκίδες αὐτῆς, καὶ αἱ ὑπ’ αὐτῇ κῶμαι.

¹⁸ CHAMPOLLION, *Précis*, p. 337. The Greek names of these cities, therefore, were translations of those given them by the priests, according to the comparison of the Egyptian gods with theirs.

formed at the beginning so many small independent states; but the mighty Tyre, gaining at last a predominance, maintained, to a certain degree, an authority over them: without, however, suppressing entirely the other kings, whom she only held in dependence. But notwithstanding all this, some states must still have remained weak in proportion to the others, and this explains another circumstance connected with the highest events of Egyptian history: the tedious and often repeated *struggle with the neighbouring nomades*, by whose conquest the flourishing period of the Pharaohs was brought about.

The countries in the vicinity of Egypt were almost entirely inhabited by nomad hordes, and certainly, for the most part, by very powerful nations. Besides the African tribes of Libyan and Ethiopian descent, there were the Arabians close at hand, to whom the rich grazing districts of Lower Egypt must have been particularly attractive. Thus, as the civilization of the Nile valley extended farther north, an encounter with these nations became unavoidable, who, for their part, felt just so much more inclined for war as the opulence of the valley increased. It follows, from the nature and habits of these nations, who only flee to recruit their strength, and renew their attacks, that these wars must have been very frequent and tedious. The more ancient Egyptian history, in which they are comprised under the

name of *Hyksos* ¹⁹, is even in its fragments, full of accounts respecting them; and from these it is evident, that although Egypt was assaulted on various sides by these tribes, yet, those coming from the east, *the Arabs*, were by far the most formidable among them ²⁰. They overran Lower Egypt, and pressed forwards into Middle Egypt, where they took Memphis; they overthrew cities and temples, and built a strong place surrounded with walls, at *Avaris*, near Pelusium, at the entrance of Egypt, as a place of retreat in case of necessity. They thus founded a kingdom, which comprised the greatest part of Egypt, and which, governed by a succession of monarchs, whose names will be found in Manetho ²¹, continued for a considerable period. The victors, as is almost always the case with nomad conquerors ²², appear to

¹⁹ The name Hyksos is explained by Manetho to mean shepherd-kings; as in the ancient Egyptian language *Hyk* signified king, and *Ses* shepherd; according to which it would not be the name of the people, but only of their rulers. After another interpretation, it is said to mean *captives*. JOSEPH. p. 1038.

²⁰ The following accounts are taken from JOSEPHUS, *contra Apion. Op.* p. 1036, etc., who has here preserved us copious extracts from Manetho.

²¹ Josephus mentions six of these kings, who reigned for one hundred and sixty years. The whole continuance of the Hyksos in Egypt, he states at five hundred and eleven years; but if this statement be adopted, there is no doubt but it must be understood, to include the long and repeated wars which preceded, as well as those which followed their actual dominion. The proper dominion of the Hyksos in Egypt, from the seventeenth dynasty of Manetho, continued, according to his statement, only one hundred and three years. EUSEB. *Chron.* p. 214. Manetho places the elevation of Joseph within this period; and the favourable reception of his family, leading a shepherd life, will be certainly most explicable during the sway of a shepherd dynasty.

²² As, for example, the Mongols and Mantchues in China.

have adopted many of the customs of the conquered. They established themselves in Lower and Middle Egypt; Memphis was the capital of their empire; it is not therefore, to be wondered at, that their kings should be enumerated in the series of Egyptian dynasties. From the little that is said of them by Herodotus²³, it is not altogether an improbable conjecture, that they were the builders of the pyramids, a sort of monument peculiar to Middle Egypt, where they ruled, and which, from their huge size, seem to betray the taste of a semi-barbarous people, who found among the conquered mechanics and labourers, the means of prosecuting such stupendous undertakings. However this may have been, the power of the

²³ The builders of the pyramids were represented by the Egyptians themselves, as oppressors of the nation, and enemies of religion. HEROD. ii. 144. They would not willingly speak of them, and called the pyramids the work of the shepherd Philitis, who hereabouts fed his flocks. Should even this, as Zoëga (p. 389, note 8) has conjectured with much probability, be only a figurative representation, and Philitis signify the ruler of the lower world; yet this does not at all weaken the other reasons for this opinion. Various reports, however, were current in Egypt itself respecting the antiquity and builders of the pyramids. DIODORUS, i. 75: a certain proof of their being then very ancient. Since we have become acquainted with the pyramid architecture in Meroë, since we observe there in miniature what was carried to such a wondrous extent in Egypt, can any thing be more probable than that the Egyptian pyramids were also the work of Ethiopian conquerors, of whom, indeed, (HEROD. ii. 100,) not less than eighteen are said to have ruled in Egypt, long previous to the flourishing times of Egypt, under the Sesostridæ. I shall leave it to others to do justice to this conjecture; and shall only now add, that, according to the passages cited from Diodorus, there was still another tradition in Egypt, which referred the building of the pyramids to the reign of a king Amasis, or Amosis, who is described as a tyrant, but was overthrown by an Ethiopian conqueror, Actisanes.

conquerors began to decline probably from the same causes that have usually operated upon other empires of the same kind in the East; and, as they seem never to have been completely masters of Upper Egypt, where at least the kingdom of Thebes maintained itself during their dominion, though perhaps sometimes dependent, they became at last expelled by the rulers of that state; and Egypt delivered from their oppression. The glory of being the restorer of Egyptian independence, is attributed to Thutmosis, king of Thebes; the first who, in alliance with the *other* kings of Egypt²⁴, attempted to shake off the yoke of the Hyksos. After a long struggle, the latter were at last driven to their strong hold at Avaris; and, as this could not be taken by force, they were reduced to a capitulation by the second king after Thutmosis, by which they agreed to evacuate this and all Egypt.

This expulsion of the Hyksos, became by its consequences, one of the greatest events of Egyptian history²⁵. As it brought the nation again to depend upon itself, it laid the founda-

²⁴ This is the expression of Manetho in Josephus. That many small states existed during the dominion of the Hyksos cannot be strange: the victors, as is usual, might be satisfied with making them tributary.

²⁵ Although chronological disquisitions lie beyond the scope of this work, yet clearness requires that the *principal epochs* should be determined so far as this is possible in a history, where we are compelled to reckon by centuries, instead of years. We shall distinguish four periods. The *first*, from before the year 2000 to 1800 B. C.: period of the colonization of the Nile valley and of Lower Egypt, where numerous small states were formed in the manner above described, and Thebes and Memphis already attained to

tion for the consolidation of the various petty states under one ruler, which, though perhaps not immediately, followed soon after, and led to the commencement of the brilliant period of the empire. How deeply the remembrance of these victories was impressed upon the nation, is plainly evinced in the remains of their annals; and scarcely any thing was to be expected, from the nature of their monuments, but that these glorious deeds should be immortalized upon them. The few specimens, which we have now obtained, of the historical representations upon the walls of their temples, seem, as I shall make manifest in the next chapter, to leave no doubt of this fact. Indeed it is easily perceived that the reliefs upon one of the great temples at Thebes, namely, that of Karnac, are devoted to the history of this war; for the whole circle

considerable importance. Abraham, about 2000 B. C., found a kingdom in Lower Egypt; and, two centuries later, in Joseph's time, 1800 B. C., the state in which *he* acted so great a part, probably Memphis, was so powerful, that it comprised Middle and Lower Egypt. The *second*, from 1800—1700 B. C.: period of the *Hyksos*, who subjugated Middle Egypt. The native states, however, still continue to exist (though more or less tributary), especially the kingdom of Thebes. The victors mostly adopt the manners of the conquered, but gradually lose thereby their warlike character. Period of Moses.—*The Third*, from 1700—700 B. C. Period of Sesostris and of the Sesostridæ, who, after the expulsion of the Hyksos, ruled over all Egypt. Hence this formed the *brilliant period* of the kingdom, in which the greater part of its mighty monuments were erected. Towards the close of this period, however, from about 800 B. C. the kingdom began to decline, partly through the conquests of the kings of Ethiopia and Meroë, and partly from intestine troubles; so that a dodecarchy became the consequence, till Psammetichus established himself at Sais as sole monarch of Egypt. The *fourth*, 700—528 B. C., from the reign of Psammetichus to the Persian conquest. The chronology of Egypt chiefly depends upon fixing the *period of Sesostris*; upon which I shall say more in the next chapter.

of events, from the moment in which the king obtains his weapons from the deity, in order to march against the enemy, till he again, as conqueror, delivers them back to the deity, is placed before us. The peculiarities of the people warred against, as well as the designation of the locality, and the manner of the fight, are all so many proofs of this fact. The hostile nation have a peculiar physiognomy, altogether different from that of the Egyptian. All belonging to it have long beards and long garments; every thing, indeed, pointing them out as Arabs. Still clearer proofs are given in the representation of the battle and flight. The slain and flying enemy is here portrayed as a nation, whose riches consist in its *herds* of cattle and horses, which are seen taking to flight with their armies. The circumstance of place is pointed out by a lotus flower and bush, a proof that it was a marshy region. In the background is observed a long, strong posted wall or fortification; which, in connection with the other circumstances, obviously brings to our mind the strong hold of *Avaris*, the point to which the shepherds had reached in this very district of Lower Egypt.

Although this important event laid the foundation of that national power and greatness which seemed immediately to follow, yet it also seems explained by the foregoing narrative, how these revolutions came to have so little effect in changing the national character, and the prin-

cial features of government. We know explicitly, that the state of Thebes continued during the foreign dynasty, as did probably many of the others, by paying tribute. The form of this state, therefore, remained the same; the dominion of the priest caste was shaken, but not overthrown; and if the sanctuaries, as the priest informed Herodotus, were closed for a hundred years, they were nevertheless reopened; the foreign dynasty was chased from Upper Egypt; independence was here re-established, the national spirit revived, and the various states were consolidated into one kingdom. Can we then be surprised to see in Egypt, thus united, the same principal form continued, and the kingdom in its most flourishing period assume the appearance of a vast hierarchy?

This brilliant period began, according to the most probable settlement of the chronology, between the years 1600 and 1500 B. C.; at a time when we have as yet heard of no great empire in Asia; when, as yet, Phœnicia possessed no Tyre, nor the commerce of the world; when the Jews, after the death of Joshua, remained without a leader, weak and inconsiderable; and when the obscure traditions of the Greeks represent that nation as but little removed from barbarism. There can be no doubt therefore, but Egypt ranked at this time, as the most civilized country of the known world, at least as far as the Indus; and for succeeding centuries no one could enter the lists with her, or

cause her any dread ; and thus through a long period of tranquillity, she continually increased and prospered, till she attained that pitch of greatness, which is not only set forth in the narratives of antiquity, but displayed in her own monuments. The first symptoms of decay are discernible towards the beginning of the eighth century before the Christian era, the period at which a little light breaks into her history ; and we therefore may conclude, with much probability, that this golden period lasted from seven to eight centuries. What I have to say respecting it, will be reserved for the following chapter.

Egyptian tradition makes the departure of some of the foreign colonies, as for example that of Danaus for the Peloponnesus, to have happened during the revolutions, to which the expulsion of the Hyksos gave rise. How much the foundation of colonies, not only within, but also beyond the boundaries of Egypt, was in accordance with the notions of the Egyptian priests, may be gathered from the statements of Diodorus. According to their own traditions, Egyptian colonies were founded in the most opposite regions of the world : in Greece, Colchis, Babylon, and even India. But, in the foundation of these colonies out of Egypt, there was always a view to the extension of Egyptian civilization. Even the whole mythus of the expedition of *Osiris*, as found in Diodorus,²⁶ is

²⁶ DIODORUS, i. p. 22.

nothing more than a figurative representation of the spread of Egyptian religion and civilization, by the planting of colonies; as was that of Hercules, as I have shown in its place, among the Phœnicians. It is the highly figurative language of eastern antiquity. No one will think of finding in it strict historical truth; nevertheless, it will plainly evince, that this extension by colonies of priests, as we have laid it down, was by no means a strange idea to the Egyptians themselves, but a well known common circumstance.

It also seems pretty certain, that in this flourishing period, the *division into castes*, as a political institution, received its complete formation; and those strict boundary lines were fixed, to which difference of descent and manner of life, had already laid the foundation. So long as the country remained divided into numerous small states, this institution, though certainly existing, could scarcely come to maturity. The priest caste was without doubt distributed through all the states, which were excellently formed and governed by them; but in each of these states there could hardly be found some of all the other castes. Thus a warrior caste could not possibly become important in small states, if they had already existed in some of the larger for any length of time. But after the consolidation into one kingdom, institutions of this kind, the ground having been laid for them before, must naturally have become extended.

The more, therefore, this regulation formed the foundation of the whole government, the more necessary it seems that we should take a glance at the separate castes; as well the noble (the priest and warrior castes), as the others enumerated by Herodotus.

The difficulties of the inquiry respecting the *priest caste* are increased, because the writers, to whose testimony we must have recourse, did not live till a later age, when it must already have undergone great and essential internal changes. Every revolution must have reacted upon this body, or rather struck it first; as already that of Psammetichus, who by foreign aid had won the sole dominion of Egypt. This event, though it did not destroy, must have greatly diminished their political influence. By the changes which ensued in Egyptian policy, it is probable, that, without violent concussion, they became gradually reduced to what they appeared in the time of Herodotus, when little more seemed left of their former dominion and power than their documents. These changes were still farther increased by the Persian yoke. These foreign conquerors were the natural enemies of the ruling caste, and it becomes a matter of surprise, that the repeated shocks which it had to endure did not entirely destroy it.

Herodotus, therefore, and still more the writers from whom Diodorus borrowed, saw only the shadow of their former glory. Still, however, there were left many manifest traces of

what had formerly been, and sufficient may be collected from what these writers tell us, to enable us to form, with tolerable certainty, some conclusions respecting the earlier state of this caste.

It was completely in accordance with Egyptian institutions, that branches of this great priest stock should be spread over all Egypt. In every Egyptian city this caste seems to have been native; but the great cities, which formerly had been the capitals of the Egyptian kingdoms, Memphis, Thebes, Heliopolis, and Sais, still continued their principal seats; it was likewise at these places that the great temples were found, which are so often mentioned in the narratives of Herodotus and others ²⁷.

Every Egyptian priest was obliged to enter into the service of some particular god; that is to say, he was obliged to belong to some particular temple. The number of priests for the service of any deity was never fixed; according to the whole system, it must have been a matter of chance, for, as the priesthood descended in families, its number must have varied. It was not, for example, merely the priest caste *generally* that was hereditary in Egypt; but again, *especially* the priesthood of this or that deity. The son of a priest of Vulcan at Memphis, could not enter, as a member, into the college of priests

²⁷ The proofs of what next follow will be found in HEROD. ii. 36, 37, 42, compared with DIODORUS, i. p. 48.

at Heliopolis; nor could a son of one of the latter enter into the former.

However strange this regulation may appear to us, it is quite natural. Every temple had large estates, the revenues of which were drawn by the priests belonging to the same, whose forefathers had formerly built this temple, had formed the neighbouring tribes into subjects, and had made these fields arable. It was therefore a natural inheritance, which might become so much the more unalienable, as it not only referred to the income, but also to the territory of every priest colony.

The priesthood belonging to each temple, were again, among themselves, strictly organized. They had a high priest, whose office was likewise hereditary, and the disposition of the rest was made according to the state of affairs.

It scarcely needs to be mentioned, that these offices of high priest, in the metropolitan temples of Egypt, were the first and highest in the state. To a certain degree they were hereditary princes, who ranked next to the kings, and enjoyed nearly equal advantages. Both Memphis and Thebes had, at the same time, high priests and kings, so long as they flourished as separate and independent states. The Egyptian title was *pyromis*, which, according to Herodotus's interpretation, is equivalent in signification to *noble and good*²⁸ (καλὸς καγαθὸς); but which,

²⁸ HEROD. ii. 143.

perhaps, did not refer to the moral character, but to nobleness of descent²⁹. Their statues were erected in the temple. Whenever they are mentioned in history, even in the Mosaic period, they are represented as the highest persons in the state. When Joseph became elevated in Egypt, the first step he took was to connect himself by marriage with the priest caste: he married the daughter of the high priest of *On*, or *Heliopolis*³⁰.

The organization of the inferior priesthood was perhaps different in different cities, according to the size and wants of the locality. They did not continue the ruling race, merely because from them were chosen the servants of the state, but much rather because they monopolised every branch of scientific knowledge, which was entirely formed by the locality, and had immediate reference to the wants of the people. The reader must banish the idea, that their sole, or even their most usual employment, was the service of the gods, an idea which the few following callings of priests will much tend to expel. They were judges, physicians, soothsayers, architects, in short, every thing in which any species of scientific knowledge was required.

It is evident from the whole course of Egyptian history, that every great city in this country, had originally one principal temple of this

²⁹ That this may be the sense of *καλὸς καγαθός*, is shortly set forth by WELKER, in his introduction to *Theognidis Reliquiæ*, p. 24.

³⁰ GENESIS xli. 43.

kind, which, in succeeding times, always remained the high temple, and the deity who was worshipped therein the chief god, or protecting deity of the place. The priests of Memphis were always called (according to the Greek way of naming them) the priests of Vulcan; those at Thebes, priests of the Theban Jupiter; those at Sais, priests of Minerva; those at On, priests of the sun, etc. These temples were the earliest settlements of the priesthood at each place, and to each of these likewise was knit the whole dominion of the state, which grew up and increased around it; it scarcely needs to be mentioned, that this in no wise prevented the priesthood from founding numerous temples to other deities, in proportion as their body increased, and changes of time and circumstances wrought occasion for them. The number of deities, however, to whom temples were dedicated, seems, at least in Upper Egypt, always to have been very limited. We have only yet heard of temples here to Ammon, Osiris, Isis, and Typhon. In Middle and Lower Egypt this circle seems afterwards to have been extended; it was still, however, confined to deities of the family of Ammon.

It will now also be easier to answer another question not less important; that touching the *income* of the Egyptian priests. The erroneous idea has been long entertained, that these were a class of men *paid* by the king or state; an idea which even those writers who have most

raised themselves above the common notions respecting this remarkable caste seem still inclined to favour.

From what has already been said upon the colonies of these priests, it naturally follows, that they must have been the first proprietors of lands within their territory. It surely cannot, therefore, seem strange, that they are represented by Herodotus as being the *principal landed proprietors* in Egypt, a privilege which, according to Diodorus, was only possessed besides by the kings, in respect to their domains, and, though only under certain restrictions, by the warrior caste. It is, however, contrary to probability and to history to represent this latter regulation as uniformly and uninterruptedly existing in all the states of Egypt; to probability because it would be difficult to conceive, that the priest caste, where a state became greatly augmented, could preserve in its full extent, and exclusively, the proprietorship of land; to history, because as early as the time of Joseph, there appear to have been proprietors of land in the state over which he was governor, besides the priest caste and king, who when compelled by the famine which then distressed them, could part with it to the king for corn³¹.

But whatever changes may have taken place, it is still certain, that a considerable, perhaps

³¹ GENESIS xlvii. 18—26. A very remarkable passage, which, besides showing us the power of the priests at that time, likewise gives us an example of the increase of the royal power in an Egyptian state!

the largest and fairest portion of the land, always remained the property of the priests. According to Herodotus and Diodorus, it was managed in the following manner :

To each temple, or to every settlement of priests, were attached extensive estates : these formed the original territory of the settlement, and therefore belonged to the whole body in common. They were accordingly farmed out at moderate rents, and the revenue which they produced formed the common treasury of the temple, which was under the charge of a person, or steward, appointed to manage it, who likewise appertained to the priest caste³². Out of this common fund the necessaries of life were supplied to the priests and their families belonging to each temple ; they and their households living at free tables. " So many dishes," says Herodotus, " were furnished daily, of those kinds of meat of which by their laws they were allowed to eat, and with them a certain quantity of wine (for they had the privilege of enjoying this luxury, which was forbidden the lower castes). Thus there was no need for them to contribute any thing from their private means towards their support."

That besides these public and common benefits, each priest, or family of priests (for it need scarcely be remarked that they married), possessed also, or might possess, their private

³² Herodotus expressly mentions the steward of the college of priests at Sais, ii. 28.

means, and consequently private estates, would be sufficiently evident, even if Herodotus had not expressly said as much in the passage just quoted. The families of priests were in reality the first, the highest, and the richest in the country! The priests had indeed, exclusively, the transacting of all state affairs; and carried on besides many of the most profitable branches of business. They formed, in fact, to a certain extent, a *highly privileged nobility*.

The highest degree of cleanliness in their person and clothing was a very peculiar trait in the character of the Egyptian priests. There is no doubt but the nature of the country and climate had a great influence in this respect, as well as in determining the whole of their diet; but they seem likewise to have known very well the decided influence that external cleanliness has upon the civilization of a people.

They not only themselves set a most perfect example in this respect, but also deeply impressed it upon their subjects. "The Egyptians," says Herodotus, "are in nothing so careful as in always wearing clean linen clothes."

The other classes throw woollen garments over these; the priests, on the contrary, clothe themselves entirely in clean linen³³, and wear

³³ Under which, however, it seems probable that *cotton* is to be understood as included. Conf. DE SCHMIDT *de Sacerdotibus Ægypti*. p. 26. This fashion in dress seems to me also to argue for a southern descent. But, not to dwell upon this, the account given of them is completely confirmed by the representations of the priests upon the monuments. They always are portrayed here in long garments, and with heads closely shaved, where

shoes of *byblos*. They shaved carefully their head, in order to secure themselves from vermin, and bathed twice a day. Could the higher classes in any country easily distinguish themselves by their clothing in a more simple and judicious manner?

Among the writers and Fathers of the Church who flourished in the first centuries, many accounts are still to be met with concerning the Egyptian priests; mostly, however, relating to the internal regulations of this caste³⁴. They are there divided into *prophets*, *pastophori*, *neocori*, etc. These divisions are certainly confirmed by what is found upon the monuments, and by the Rosetta inscription; in other respects but little critical value can be placed upon these later accounts, where the question refers to the government of the *ancient* Egyptian priests. This class of men once so respectable; and so active in the cultivation of the nation, had degenerated into charlatans; they nevertheless still continued to live upon the income derived from the temple property, and had become proportionately pompous in external dignities, as their power and influence had decreased.

they have not a particular headdress on. This headdress seems to mark the distinction of ranks, but probably had as well some other religious reference. A more accurate study of the clothing and ornaments of the head would perhaps give a key to the great variety of representations of them in Egyptian antiquity.

³⁴ The most complete collection of them will be found in the learned treatise; DE SCHMIDT *de Sacrificiis et Sacerdotibus Ægyptiorum*. Compare with them ZOEGA *de Obeliscis*, p. 513, etc.

Next in rank to the priest caste, was, according to the unanimous testimony of historians, the *soldier caste* ³⁵, or the race of Egyptian warriors. An object of inquiry not at all less interesting, but respecting which the difficulties are still more appalling.

It seems reasonable to suppose, that in the political changes which took place in Egypt, and more particularly in its transformation into one kingdom, the effects upon the internal organization of this caste must have been as great or greater than upon the priests. The question naturally presents itself, whether in the earlier periods each state, or the greater part of the separate states, had their warrior caste, and if they had, how they afterwards became transformed? Here again, unfortunately, our accounts only reach to the later periods. I will sketch a picture of them as accurately and fully as I can from Herodotus and Diodorus; and afterwards add what I think I may call probable conjectures.

The Egyptian warriors, according to Herodotus, were a race, and, certainly, as well as the priest caste, one of the most distinguished races of the nation. They were subdivided into the *Hermotybi* and the *Calasiri*; and both these possessed certain nomes or districts, which are mentioned by name in Herodotus. The *Hermotybi*, at the time of their greatest power,

³⁵ HEROD. ii. 164, 166. DIODORUS, l. c.

were 160,000 men strong; the *Calasiri* 250,000. Neither one nor the other durst carry on any trade; they were destined to war alone, and this destination descended from father to son. Their pay consisted of the produce of their estates; for they, as well as the kings and priests, were large landed proprietors. Each man had twelve acres of land, the acre being reckoned at one hundred Egyptian ells³⁶. One thousand of the *Calasiri* and one thousand of the *Hermotybi*, were appointed every year for the king's body-guard; and these obtained, in addition to their estates, a certain allowance of meat, bread, and wine. They are made landed proprietors, adds Diodorus, in order to induce them to marry, and thereby to ensure an increase of their number, and to give them a greater interest in the protection of their country.

According to these accounts of Herodotus, therefore, the Egyptian warriors were a native Egyptian tribe, settled in a particular province, and to whom, by an accurate admeasurement of the soil, a certain portion of landed property was given. This is evidently the notion which, from the whole, must be formed of them.

Respecting how far the two classes, the *Calasiri* and the *Hermotybi*, differed from one another, and in what relations they stood, history is silent; the answering of this question

³⁶ The Egyptian ell, according to D'ANVILLE, makes twenty-one and a half Paris inches. *Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, p. 27.

is a matter of mere conjecture. It seems, indeed, most probable, that they were originally different tribes. Had they still in different provinces of Egypt their separate dwellings?

Herodotus has expressly named the Egyptian nomes in which both of them were quartered. It is evident, from his statement, that nearly the whole of the Egyptian forces were concentrated in Lower Egypt: four nomes and a half were possessed by the Hermotybi within the Delta, and twelve others by the Calasiri; while each of them had only one single one in all Middle and Upper Egypt; namely, the districts of Chemmis and Thebes.

This striking fact is easily explained by Egyptian history. From the time of Psammetichus, downward, Egypt was in almost continual dread of powerful attacks from Asia, and from that quarter alone; thence, indeed she was several times invaded. Probably, therefore, this settlement of the Egyptian warrior caste was the work of later monarchs, who had absolute power, though the earlier wars with the shepherds might also have occasioned it.

Should the reader, however, prefer the other way in which this is accounted for, and rather consider these tribes as originally native in the nomes in which they dwelt in the time of Herodotus, there is no want of probability in this view of the subject. In the Mosaic period the warrior caste first appears in Lower Egypt.

The rapidity with which the Pharaoh there mentioned, probably a ruler of Memphis, could assemble the army with which he pursued the fugitive Israelites, evinces clearly enough, that the Egyptian warriors of that epoch must have been quartered in just the same district in which Herodotus places them.

Of their internal organization, of their officers, of their military tactics and discipline, and so forth, we know but little. Something is said upon these matters in the following chapter.

They must have undergone great changes in consequence of the number of canals made in Egypt³⁷. The Egyptian forces consisted principally, in early times (as in the period of Moses for example), of cavalry and war-chariots³⁸; but these could be but of little service when the country was everywhere intersected by canals.

Further, it scarcely need be noticed that they were by no means the *only* inhabitants of the districts in which they resided. It is equally erroneous to suppose that they durst transact no other business whatever except military. Handicraft trades were forbidden them because they were considered debasing; but there is no proof that they were interdicted agriculture, and particularly the cultivation of their own estates; although, according to the statements of Diodorus, these were certainly,

³⁷ HEROD. ii. 108; DIODORUS, i. p. 67.

³⁸ EXODUS, xiv. 9.

in general, as well as those of the kings and priests, farmed out ³⁹.

They must, however, have been called upon duty in the interior of the country at a distance from their places of abode. There were establishments of them at the places upon the frontiers, as at Syene and others, which were from time to time relieved. They formed, moreover, as we are told by Herodotus, the body-guard of the king; every year, a thousand from each class—the Calasiri and Hermotybi—went to court, and there enjoyed free quarters ⁴⁰. The neglect to relieve these as usual, was, according to Herodotus, one of the causes which led to their migration into Ethiopia ⁴¹.

According to the opinion of a modern writer ⁴², there could have been no soldier caste at all in Egypt, after the time of Psammetichus; for he believes, that at that period the *whole* caste migrated into Ethiopia. This view of the subject is not only entirely destitute of proof, but is very easily contradicted. Herodotus speaks of them as a caste *still existing*, during his abode in Egypt; though he at the same time gives us to understand, that they were not then nearly so numerous as they had been; and in the wars of the later Pharaohs they are expressly spoken of ⁴³.

³⁹ DIODORUS, i. p. 85.

⁴⁰ HEROD. ii. 168.

⁴¹ HEROD. ii. 30.

⁴² DE PAUW, *Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, ii. p. 331.

⁴³ HEROD. ii. 169. Also ZOEGA, p. 570, thinks it very probable that the migration into Ethiopia is much exaggerated; nevertheless it must, from the cities they founded there, have been very considerable.

All writers agree, then, in making the priest and warrior castes the two highest in rank; in the enumeration of the others there is no particular order observed by Herodotus; it is not indeed known, whether there was any or not; except that the shepherds, or herdsmen, were placed in the lowest rank. It is, therefore, quite indifferent how we range the remainder.

Let the first then be the caste of *trading citizens*; for so I translate the Greek expression of Herodotus, *κάπηλοι*, a word to which lexicographers have already given the same meaning. It must, therefore, have been one of the most numerous castes, comprising the mechanics (handicraftsmen), artists, chapmen, and merchants; and in this way Herodotus himself seems to explain it in another passage⁴⁴. It lies in the nature of things, that this caste could only be formed by increasing cultivation; the tribe, or tribes, which belonged to it, could not have a capacity for these affairs till after they had made a manifest progress in civilization.

It is a doubtful and obscure question whether these separate trades were again hereditary, and thus this caste included a great number of subdivisions; or whether each individual was at liberty to follow any one that might be considered a citizen's business, or handicraft. Although I have elsewhere declared myself in favour of the latter opinion; yet there certainly

⁴⁴ HEROD. ii. 141.

seems to me now many reasons to strengthen and confirm the former. The statements of Diodorus, whether the result of his own inspection, or copied from earlier accounts, can in no other way be understood. He states expressly, that the son was bound to carry on the trade of his father, and that one alone⁴⁵. It must, therefore, be assumed, that the trade caste contained a great number of subdivisions, which is also the case in India, and that each under-caste had its particular branch of trade. The Egyptian documents, which have lately been discovered in Upper Egypt, and published, seem to confirm this opinion; as the guild, or company of curriers or leather dressers is found therein⁴⁶. The Egyptians considered this regulation the cause of the high perfection to which the different branches of trade had attained among them; whether they were right or not we cannot pretend to decide.

The most important difference between Herodotus and Diodorus in the division of the castes, consists in the latter making a separate caste of the husbandmen, which the other does not mention. Must we suppose that he comprised them under the trading caste? This is a very difficult question, and is connected with the inquiry respecting the manner of holding landed property in Egypt. According to Dio-

⁴⁵ DIODORUS, i. p. 86. So also PLATO, *Op.* ix. 294. Bipont.

⁴⁶ БОЕСКИ, *Explanation of an Egyptian document upon Papyrus*. Berlin, 1821, p. 25.

dorus, all landed property was in the hands of the king, the priests, and the warriors⁴⁷. According to Herodotus, Sesostris is said to have divided all Egypt, giving to each individual an equal quadrangular portion, determined by lot, and from these allotments his own revenue proceeded⁴⁸. The idea of landed proprietorship, however, is very ambiguous. There is a full proprietorship, and there is, as in the case of vassalage, a conditional proprietorship. In the East the kings are usually regarded as the lords paramount of the land. In the state where Joseph lived, it became the king's by his management. Previous to that time, the possessors seem to have been full proprietors⁴⁹. If indeed Sesostris, at a later period, divided all the lands of Egypt, according to a strict measurement, it follows, as a matter of course, that he considered himself as chief proprietor. It is certain that Sesostris might have had the distribution of a good deal of land, because he completely expelled the Hyksos who had appropriated it to themselves. And that the account which the priests imparted to Herodotus was limited to this, seems most agreeable to the nature of the thing altogether. It seems also evident, that he left or restored again to the temples and priests, the land belonging to them. Diodorus's account, that all the land was the property of the kings, priests and warriors, cannot

⁴⁷ DIODORUS, i. p. 84.

⁴⁸ HEROD. ii. 109.

⁴⁹ GENESIS xlvii. 18—26.

well be taken in the strictest sense⁵⁰, as from the merchants' contracts, lately discovered (certainly, however, not older than the period of the Ptolemies), it appears that the cities had their land-marks⁵¹. All then that we can conclude with certainty is, that if not all, yet at least the best and largest portion of the land, did belong to the three proprietors above mentioned. It is moreover certain that these estates were cultivated by farmers; but by what tenure these held their lands, whether as copyholders, leaseholders, or yearly tenants, it is impossible to determine. Their condition may perhaps have been similar to that of the present Fellahs⁵², who are by no means independent landed proprietors. There can, however, be no doubt but that the cultivation of the soil, if not altogether, yet principally, was carried on by farmers. These consequently formed the Egyptian peasantry, of whose manner of life Herodotus

⁵⁰ A remarkable account of the landed property in Egypt is preserved in STOBÆUS from Aristotle (*Eclog. Phys. et Eth.* ii. 1, p. 332, my edition). It is there stated, that among the Egyptians the lands of private persons (τῶν ἰδιωτῶν) were so distributed, that every one had one portion of his property in the neighbourhood of the city, the other at a distance from it. This shows that every city had a certain extent of territory belonging to it, which was distributed among the citizens according to the principle described above. The statement is borrowed from ARISTOT. *Polit.* vii. 10. It is only doubtful then, whether it likewise refers to the Egyptians alluded to before; but from the context it appears very probable.

⁵¹ BOECKH, l. c. 27. Compare ST. MARTIN, *Notice sur quelques Manuscrits Grecs, apportés d'Egypte*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1822, Sept.

⁵² Compare the charming account of them in REYNIER, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, tom. iv. p. 24. And in the same *Economie politique et rurale des Egyptiens et des Carthaginois*, p. 97.

has furnished us with an accurate description, to which I shall presently return. Many of the other classes of the trade caste, however, might cultivate land; and the husbandmen in general could not form a distinct caste, because, according to the ruling maxim of the priests, this employment was, as far as possible, to be common to all the citizens. They, therefore, in general belonged to the caste of tradesmen.

A caste of navigators has greatly embarrassed some writers, because it is generally known, that in ancient Egypt, previous to the time of Psammetichus, there was no navigation; for what is said respecting the fleet of Sesostris cannot be brought into consideration, when the question relates to a constant, lasting division of the people. These doubts arise, however, merely from an ignorance of Egypt: for if this country in these early periods had scarcely any sea, it had, for that very reason, the greater *river navigation*. It will be our object to speak of this more fully, and of its extent and its importance to Egypt, in our inquiries into the internal trade of this country. This caste was not composed of seamen, but of the *navigators of the Nile*. Herodotus gives us no particular account of the tribes belonging to it; but it is very probable that they were the primitive inhabitants of the banks of that river, who, according to the traditions of the Egyptians themselves, had formerly, before the formation of any states in Egypt, lived there upon fish. The

innumerable quantity of passage-boats, and ships of burden, which covered the Nile from Syene to the Mediterranean, may give us some idea of the number of this caste⁵³. There were certain feasts, at which nearly every inhabitant of Egypt was upon the river⁵⁴. When Amasis wished to remove the rock-temple of Minerva (a single excavated rock, one and twenty yards long, fourteen high, and eight broad) from Elephantis to Sais, two thousand of these sailors were employed in the transport, which Herodotus states to have occupied three years⁵⁵; a distance which would otherwise be performed, with a common passage, in less than twelve days. It will, however, be easily perceived that this caste also owed its existence to local necessity. During the periodical flood, navigation is the only means of communication⁵⁶; and besides, at this time the connection with the interior of the land is rendered easy by the numerous canals.

The caste of interpreters (*ἐρμηνεῖς*), is, in several respects, remarkable. It arose in the period of Psammetichus, and is the only one of whose origin we have any accurate historical account. Psammetichus, wishing the nation to adopt the Greek manners, left a considerable number of Egyptian children in Greece to have them instructed in the Greek language and manners.

⁵³ DIODORUS, i. p. 52.

⁵⁵ HEROD. ii. 175.

⁵⁴ HEROD. ii. 96.

⁵⁶ Ibid. ii. 97.

Their posterity, according to Herodotus, formed the caste of interpreters ⁵⁷.

All that is extraordinary in this event becomes immediately accounted for when the national dislike to these innovations be considered, and especially that of the higher castes, one of whom almost entirely emigrated in consequence of them. The children who thus received a Greek education were no longer regarded as forming part of the nation. No one afterwards would reckon them to any native caste; and thus nothing was left for them but to form a separate caste of themselves, to which the name of the business that they usually followed became attached. After this period Egypt swarmed with Greeks; not merely with strangers who came to satisfy their curiosity, but with merchants who settled in Naucratis and other places ⁵⁸. A class of men therefore, who, like these, understood both languages, who managed the affairs of the Greeks, and who might effectually serve strangers as interpreters, became indispensable, and must have grown very numerous. These interpreters were all this, and probably many of them brokers, and even merchants; nevertheless, having been once excluded the nation, they could never find admittance again into one of the other castes.

The *herdsmen* still remain to be noticed; Diodorus reckons them one caste, while He-

⁵⁷ HEROD. ii. 154.

⁵⁸ Ibid. ii. 178, 179.

Herodotus divides them into two, which may perhaps be considered a subdivision of the former.

In this way Herodotus and Diodorus will be made to agree, especially if the classes of agriculturists and artificers of the latter may be considered the same as Herodotus's class of tradesmen. Though Diodorus will always be subject to the reproach of omitting altogether the castes of navigators and interpreters.

However this may be, Herodotus is our guide ; but he unfortunately is extremely short and unsatisfactory respecting these castes. The *neatherds*, the most numerous among them, he scarcely mentions ; and upon the others we cannot but perceive the want of accurate information.

I have already frequently remarked, that a portion of the inhabitants of Egypt must always remain nomades ; those who dwell, for example, in the mountains and marshes, where the land is unfit for tillage. But even of those who had subjected themselves to fixed abodes, many still made the tending and breeding of cattle their principal, or perhaps their sole business. This was the case with those dwelling on the east border of the Nile valley, at the foot of the Arabian mountains, which regions still abound in excellent pasturage, and are now covered with villages and numerous herds of cattle. I here present the reader with a picture which a modern traveller has drawn, as well of the country as of its inhabitants ; a picture to which

I am the more desirous of engaging his attention because it is evidently applicable to ancient times.

“ From the banks of the Nile to the mountains,” he says⁵⁹, “ which bound the fruitful plains of Egypt, one often meets with nothing, for many days’ journey together, but green meadows. These plains are everywhere covered with large townships and villages, most of which are adorned with public buildings, and do not contain less than from two to three thousand inhabitants.”

“ Besides these Egyptian inhabitants, with settled abodes, there are, on the plains bordering the desert, wandering tribes, dwelling in tents, who change their station according to the seasons and the supply of pasturage. Some abide in the mountains, far from villages and cities, but always in places where they can conveniently obtain a supply of water ; others pitch their tents in the vicinity of inhabited districts, where, for a trifling tribute, they obtain permission to graze their cattle. The inhabitants even give them a little land to cultivate for their own use, in order to remain at peace with them. For, in fact, they have only to march a day’s journey into the wilderness to secure themselves from all retaliation ; where, by frugality and their knowledge of the springs, they find no difficulty in living for some months.

⁵⁹ MAILLET, p. 54.

There can be no finer prospect than to see in the months of November, December, and January, these vast meadows,—in which the grass grows nearly as tall as a man, and so thick that an ox can lie down the whole day and graze without rising,—covered with villages, tents and herds. About this time the nomad hordes advance a few hundred miles, in order to let their herds of camels and horses graze, for which they pay a trifling tribute in wool, or a few sheep, or young camels. After some time they retire again into the desert, where they journey, by ways known to them, towards other districts.”

This distinction of the Egyptian *husbandmen*, who dwelt in villages and open places, and made the tending of cattle and agriculture their business, and the *nomad herdsmen*, was the same in antiquity. Herodotus describes the manner of life, and the state of each of them⁶⁰; according to his account, they were a strong, healthy people who observed that mode of life, which had been prescribed to them by the priests. They lived upon the flesh of those animals not considered sacred, on fish, on bread made of bran and beer.—The nomad herdsmen are merely mentioned by Herodotus incidentally⁶¹; but Diodorus assures us that they continued, in his time, unchanged, the same kind of life which they had always led from the earliest ages⁶².

⁶⁰ HEROD. ii. 77.⁶¹ Ibid. ii. 128.⁶² DIODORUS, i. p. 52.

The caste of neatherds naturally included those Egyptian tribes who possessed landed property, and made the breeding and tending of cattle their principal business. Whether the nomad herdsmen were also reckoned among them is a question, which can scarcely be answered in the affirmative. They did not in general belong to the Egyptian nation, as they were of Arabian or Libyan descent. The extensive table lands, which they inhabited, were seldom subject to the Pharaohs, probably never; and the dominion over nomad hordes, from their very nature, must at all times be very uncertain and variable.

From their whole manner of life, they can scarcely be considered otherwise than as natural enemies, which must be borne with, because they cannot be got rid of. To this therefore we may attribute the hate and scorn in which they were at all times held, and which the ruling priest caste carefully strove to nourish. "The neatherds are to the Egyptians an abomination," was said in the Mosaic period⁶³, and traces of the contempt with which they were regarded, are found in Herodotus⁶⁴. There is no proof, however, that this disgrace attached to those cultivators, who, being proprietors of land, made the tending and breeding of cattle their business. Black cattle were by no means unclean in Egypt; the cow was sacred to Isis,

⁶³ GENESIS xli. 34.

⁶⁴ HEROD. ii. 128.

and oxen generally served for food and sacrifice; it is not, therefore, likely, that the management of them should have caused defilement. It was not so much the keeping of cattle,—which in fact was equally indispensable with agriculture—as the nomad life, which was directly opposed to the views and policy of the ruling caste.

Besides, to this caste seems to have belonged the tribes which had taken up their abode in the *marshy plains* of the Delta. According to Strabo⁶⁵, these were especially assigned by the ancient Pharaohs for the abode of the neatherds. The tribes which dwelt there had nevertheless, as we are told by Herodotus, adopted Egyptian manners⁶⁶; but they still remained half barbarians, and even robbers, for the thickets of reeds not only supplied them with the materials for their huts, but likewise protected them from the approach of strangers⁶⁷. Heliodorus draws a similar picture of them⁶⁸.

On the other hand, the caste of *swineherds*, which Herodotus expressly distinguishes from the neatherds, were despised, and held as unclean⁶⁹. They consisted, according to his account, of a native tribe, who were strictly interdicted all communication with the others, and against whom even the doors of the temples

⁶⁵ STRABO, p. 1142.⁶⁶ HEROD. ii. 92.⁶⁷ DIODORUS, i. 52.⁶⁸ HELIOD. *Æthiop.* i. 5.⁶⁹ HEROD. ii. 47.

were closed. Swine were not less an abomination in the eyes of the Egyptians, than they were to the Jews; a superstition which no doubt had its rise in some local circumstance with which we are unacquainted, or at least cannot account for with certainty. An ancient custom, however, followed from it, which was, that at a certain feast a hog was offered up in every house to Osiris⁷⁰; the Egyptians, moreover, were accustomed, when they sowed their lands, already soaked by the Nile, to drive a herd of swine over the fields, in order to tread the corn into the earth⁷¹. This race, therefore, however despised, was indispensable to the Egyptians; but must have lived in a state of degradation, not very unlike that of the *Parias* in India.

Such were the castes into which the Egyptian nation was divided. It is often objected to this complete classification of the people, that it obstructs the progress of those among whom it is introduced, and must make it impossible for them to advance beyond a certain point. For the founders of an institution, which evidently was formed in the infancy of policy and civilization, this is not a very grave charge; but an impartial development of its advantages and disadvantages, can perhaps only be made by one, who has fairly considered its consequences upon a people, among whom it still

⁷⁰ HEROD. ii. 48.

⁷¹ Ibid. ii. 14.

exists, as among the Hindoos. So long as the *learned sciences* are made exclusively the property of a certain caste, scientific information cannot so easily be spread among the great body of the nation as elsewhere; this extension, however, must always be limited; and in the caste itself, the scientific cultivation which has once been admitted, can scarcely ever decline, or be altogether lost, as is seen by the Bramins and Parses. But it may seem more problematical how far such an institution could promote the improvement of all mechanic skill, as in handicraft, trades, and arts, where all these callings are hereditary; although the Egyptians, according to Diodorus, securely referred to it as the cause of their perfection⁷². However this may be, there can remain no doubt, that the handicraft and mechanic arts were brought to a degree of perfection by the ancient Egyptians, which was never surpassed, perhaps never equalled, by any nation of antiquity. They themselves have transmitted us the proofs of it in the paintings in their sepulchres, in which are represented all their household utensils, their couches and chairs, their vases, their cupboards, their musical instruments, etc⁷³. In elegance of form these are like the Greek: in many there is much display of talent in the design, and a high degree of

⁷² DIODORUS, i. 86.

⁷³ See DENON, Tab. 135, and numerous engravings in the great *Description de l'Egypte*.

luxury ; we are assured by Denon, that Indian wood can be plainly perceived in the seats and wooden furniture ⁷⁴. How much reason then is there to be cautious in judging of the effects of an institution which we only know so imperfectly !

But the most important consequence of this organization of society, was, beyond dispute, the limitation of the kingly power by the priest caste. The relation in which these stood to one another, the portion which the priest caste had in the government, the manner in which they exercised it, furnish the groundwork of the Egyptian government, and demand, above all, an ample and circumstantial inquiry.

It is evident that the kings of Egypt for the most part did not belong to the priestly caste ⁷⁵, any more than are the Rajahs from the caste of Bramins. Probably the royal race, in which the dignity seems always to have been hereditary, belonged originally to the warrior caste ; for what could be more natural, than that the leader of the army, to whom was confided the defence of the land, should be taken out of it ? That the command of the armies was a royal privilege, is evident from the testimony of all historians, as well as from the scenes portrayed upon the public monuments. And from this it again becomes clear, that the power

⁷⁴ DENON. ii. 276.

⁷⁵ Sethos, the priest of Phtha, who obtained the throne, was considered an usurper.

of the kings however determined by custom and law, could not be always the same. The valiant and fortunate conqueror, the active and ambitious ruler, will always become more powerful than a quiet sluggish prince, even though they change nothing in the form of the constitution. But only thus far, more or less, was subject to variation; the power of the priests was established upon impressions far too deep to be erased; and even upon necessities too much felt to be done without.

The priests were the proprietors of all learning and science, for they were in possession of the writings and sacred books which contained them; they were the best informed and cultivated part of the nation. Considered in this point of view, they were indisputably best fitted to govern; for it is right and just that the more experienced should rule over the ignorant, and not that the strong should domineer over the weak. Let it be admitted, that a portion of their knowledge consisted of error and superstition, and it would still be unreasonable to contend that the whole mass contained nothing better; for it is impossible that the whole civilization of a nation should be founded in error; at least where everything, as in this case, is conformable to the locality, and so well adapted to it. There is nothing wanting but a little knowledge of the East, in order to see the whole in its true and proper light.

Religion is here, universally, the mainspring

of scientific education, and it was the same in Egypt. Philosophic systems are also systems of theology; laws, and the administration of justice, are preserved by its sanction; astronomy and mathematics, in general are closely connected with it; medical science springs immediately from religion. All these, as well as many other branches of knowledge, bear an immediate application to practical life, either in the affairs of state, or private ranks; it follows therefore, of course, that those who possessed this knowledge, and who, consequently, were any thing rather than a mere speculative *literati*, must have exercised an influence over both, not easily to be shaken, and which made them indispensable.

The religion of the Egyptians consisted in the rites of certain deities, who, with the exception of Osiris and Isis, were only local gods, and were worshipped in the high temples of the cities and districts⁷⁶. Notwithstanding a difference observable in particulars, there is a uniformity in the whole which cannot be mistaken. If they were not the same deities, they were yet very similar, probably mere modifications of the same principal gods; and the religion of Egypt preserved a certain general impress, which was very naturally stamped upon it by the general spread of the priest caste. But this worship was everywhere connected with

⁷⁶ HEROD. ii. 42.

a number of ceremonies, which not only the priests, but the kings likewise, had to perform, and which are partly represented upon the walls of their temples. By this means the priests held the kings almost entirely in dependence; as a strict ceremonial was formed, by which were prescribed daily regulations (accurately described by Diodorus⁷⁷) for their whole life. None but the sons of the chief priests, according to his account, could be about the king's person. The time for the affairs of state, for sacrifice, the regulation of the royal table, and other matters of private life, were all precisely fixed. But they were especially careful in limiting the judicial authority of the monarch; as he could not sentence to punishment according to his own will and pleasure, but only according to law. What is to be gathered from all this, but the early struggle of the people to oppose a barrier to despotism? If this barrier was not exactly of *that* kind, which matured judgment would desire, can we cast that as a reproach to so early an age?

The inquiry respecting the religion of Egypt has by nothing been so much entangled and

⁷⁷ DIODORUS, i. p. 81, 82. Early in the morning state affairs were first transacted. The king then attended the sacrifices, and the public prayers. After this the praises of the king and his virtues were proclaimed, not in order to compliment and flatter him, but in order, in this way, to remind him of his duties. For the same purpose the history of the great men of earlier times was read from the sacred books. The remaining, private life of the kings, was so settled, with regard to amusements, meats, and drinks, that nearly the whole was prescribed.

rendered difficult, as by the not making a distinction between the religion of the priests and that of the people. Although common sense seems to tell us, and especially judging from the manner in which the formation and progress of the Egyptian nation took place, that, without denying the reaction of one upon the other, such a difference must have existed. If this nation, as it appears in its flourishing period, had grown up by the union of rude and civilized tribes, does it not stand to reason, that these rude tribes must have retained a portion of their original superstitions, of their deities, of their opinions and customs, which by this union, though certainly much modified, could not be annihilated? I shall return again to this subject; let me here be allowed to dwell a little longer upon the religion of the priests: that is, upon the extent of the knowledge they acquired by education, which, by its immediate application to practical life, was the foundation of their dominion.

Astronomy has been by many considered, and with some justice, as the most important part of their learning; some, indeed, have carried this notion so far as to believe, that their whole system of theology was nothing more than a symbol of this science. What advance they had really made in a knowledge of the stars, is a question I must leave to astronomers; but its importance is evident from the application which was made of it, both to astro-

logy and to the formation of a calendar for the regulation of agriculture. Astronomy and astrology were likewise inseparably connected by the other eastern nations ; but it would be exceedingly difficult to find another nation upon whom it exercised so great an influence in practical life⁷⁸. Upon the birth of a child, its horoscope was immediately taken ; it was then foretold what its fate would be ; when and how it would die ; and what would be its temper and disposition⁷⁹. No public affairs, therefore, nor even private undertakings, could be begun until the stars had been first consulted. Conceive, then, the amazing influence which a caste must possess under such circumstances ; and observe that at the outset they thereby secured themselves the direction of affairs ? Whether this belief in astrology was, in the eyes of those who delivered the oracles, mere superstition or not, is a matter of no importance ; the political object,—the limiting the power of the king, and ensuring the dependence of the people, was, in either case, equally attained.

Still greater advantages indisputably accrued from the application of astronomy to the settlement of the seasons, and to the regulation of

⁷⁸ From what is said by GATTERER, *Commentat. Soc. Göt.* vol. ix. p. 60, etc. it appears probable, that the Labyrinth with its twelve palaces, was nothing more than a symbolic representation of the yearly course of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac, and wholly appropriated to astrological observations.

⁷⁹ HEROD. ii. 82 ; DIODORUS, i. p. 91, 92.

agriculture, so far as it depended upon them. Nothing seems more evident, from the whole tenor of Egyptian antiquity, than that it was perceived here in very early times, that agriculture was the foundation of all political culture, and that the ruling caste had, therefore, made it the leading principle of their policy; this is discovered, again and again, in almost every one of their institutions,—in every part of their religion and mythology. How could it be otherwise in a country where nature, in the features of every part of it, so loudly called it to their attention! In a land where the highest degree of fertility was immediately followed by complete sterility!—where, in the fruitful valley of the Nile, states were seen to rise and prosper, while, only just beyond, lawless hordes were wandering about the desert. The first founders of the Egyptian states, therefore, must soon have perceived, that it was only in this way that a lasting dominion could be established; hence they left no means untried that religion and policy afforded them, to stamp the love of agriculture as deeply as possible upon the national character.

There is scarcely a single Egyptian deity who bears not some relation to this object. The sun, the moon, the earth, and the Nile, which, as so many various parts and powers of nature, became, under the veil of divers symbols, objects of worship, became so scarcely at all on their own account, but only so far as they pro-

moted increase and fruitfulness. Osiris is a representation of the Nile, when he steps forth and manures the earth; in like manner, the representation of the sun, so far as he returns yearly to bring back fecundity to the land; and becomes thus, in general, the symbol of civilization, so far as it is founded upon agriculture; Isis was the image of the fruitful earth; and it would be easy to enumerate a series of other symbols, if their farther explanation and unveiling did not lie beyond the scope of my subject.

This design is no less visible in the ruling political notion of the people. How deeply rooted was their national antipathy to the pastoral life, which, even in the time of Jacob, is exhibited in its whole strength⁸⁰, and still, when Herodotus lived, continued in equal force, at least with regard to the swineherds⁸¹. They were considered unclean; no intermixture with them by marriage could take place; they were constrained to remain a distinct race, and were held in about the same state of degradation as the lower castes now are in Hindostan. A very natural, and, to a certain degree, necessary policy, if the founders of the Egyptian states wished to remain true to their principles.

Traces of this are not unfrequent in the history of the Egyptians. We have only to remember the adventures of the Israelites in

⁸⁰ GENESIS xlii. 34, compare xliii. 32.

⁸¹ HEROD. ii. 47.

Egypt. They had entered Egypt by a special license, and obtained, not without difficulty, permission to live there as nomad herdsmen. But after the very first change of ruler, the Egyptians wished to retract this permission, and to compel them to build cities, whereupon their natural antipathy to this change of life made them resolve upon emigration.

The promotion of agriculture, then, and the accustoming the nomad hordes to fixed dwellings, was the natural object which the founders of the Egyptian states had at heart. This object was greatly promoted by the fact, that nature had here, more than in any other part of the world, relieved them of the labour and pains it required to attain it. However difficult it may be to explain the passing from the nomad life to the agricultural in other parts, it could at least be nowhere more easy than in Egypt, where the labours of the field are scarcely required, and man has little more to do than to scatter the seed in order to obtain a harvest ⁸².

⁸² Upon the management of agricultural affairs in Egypt, some most interesting particulars have been obtained by the French expedition into Egypt. See in particular the treatise of GIRARD, in *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, iii. p. 13, etc. The ancient manner of scattering the corn over the irrigated soil, and then causing it to be trodden in by cattle, still exists in the province of Siouth, p. 37. It is quite certain, however, that in ancient Egypt, the state and manner of husbandry was not everywhere the same. The *plough* and other farming implements are found clearly exhibited in their pictures! DENON, plate cxxxv. It seems extraordinary to me, that, upon the Egyptian monuments, the sower should walk along before the plough, instead of behind it. See *Descript. d'Égypte Antiquités*, vol. i. plates lxix. lxxi. It seems, therefore, that the use of the plough here, was the same as that of the harrow is with us, namely, to cover the strewed

Again: In a country where the fertility of the soil depended upon the periodical overflow of a river; where it therefore was of consequence to know the exact epochs at which this would take place, in order to prepare for it beforehand; where in general the business of agriculture mostly turned upon the knowledge of the seasons and the correct determination of the year and its parts, the construction of a correct *calendar* must have been of the greatest importance. It was the foundation of husbandry, and, with that, of political civilization and the dominion of the priest caste. The extraordinary assiduity which they bestowed upon it; their efforts to determine precisely the solar year; all the observations and research which this led to; indeed, even the foundation of many of the largest and most costly buildings, which, there is reason to suppose, were nothing more than figurative representations of certain astronomical cycles, and are said to have been a means of preserving the knowledge of them⁸³, cannot therefore excite any astonishment. In this way their astronomy became intimately connected with the physical history of their country; and very naturally occasioned the names even of the deities, to indicate the original parts and powers of

seeds; as is still the custom in Egypt, by *under ploughing* (a way of covering with earth by ploughing). MINUTOLI, *Travels*, p. 242.

⁸³ As in particular the Labyrinth and the Memnonium. The golden circle of Osmandyas, DIODORUS, i. p. 59, was evidently nothing more than a calendar, representing the solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days.

nature, as symbols of astronomical divisions of time. Modern writers⁶⁴, to whom I must here refer, have farther developed this subject, with much acuteness and learning, and have shown that the names of the Egyptian deities were made use of to denote the years, months, weeks, etc. From this they wish to draw the general conclusion, that the *whole* Egyptian mythology was *nothing* more than the Egyptian calendar. But however undeniable it may be that such an application of the names of Egyptian deities has been found, and that the Egyptian mythology was adopted to denote the signs in the calendar, it is equally certain that it does *not* thence follow that it was *only* used for that. Since Heyne has taught us to take deeper views of mythology, every interpretation which would limit it to *one* object, will appear, if not absolutely false, always very partial. Did not the mythology of a nation comprise the whole mass of knowledge which it possessed in its infancy; though, from poverty of speech and writing, it could only set it forth in figurative language, probably only in pictorial writing, and perhaps not always even in that? Is it conceivable that this mass of knowledge was strictly confined to astronomy? is this, in particular, conceivable of the Egyptian

⁶⁴ See, above all, DORNEDDEN, *Introduction to a new theory according to which Egyptian science and mythology may be satisfactorily explained*; in his *new Explanation of Greek Mythology*, p. 70, etc. As I think I have explained myself sufficiently clear in the text.—I regard this treatise as one of the most acute, and sensible, and learned, upon Egyptian antiquity, but can only conditionally agree with the author.

priest caste, who we positively know prosecuted the study of other sciences? Had they not also their systems; did they not require a separate *terminology*? Surely, then, the names of these deities, which were adopted into astronomy to signify astronomical objects, might have served a similar purpose in other sciences. If it be granted, therefore, that in the astronomical system of the Egyptians, Osiris signified the year, Mendes the week, Theut the first month, it does not necessarily follow, that, out of this system, they might not signify something else quite different. This, in fact, is indisputably manifest of several of them. Can it be doubted, that this same *Theut* is, in another sense, the symbol of human understanding, as the discoverer of writing; that this very *Mendes* is the symbol of the universe; and this very *Osiris* the symbol of agriculture and civilization?

Geometry was the daughter of husbandry, and born in Egypt, where the overflowing of the Nile frequently made new measurements of the land necessary⁸⁵. This study, therefore, arose from the nature of the country; and while, on one hand, it induced the priests to extend their mathematical knowledge, it was, on the other, the indispensable arbitrator of disputes, which must frequently have occurred respecting the possession of lands.

The medical science of the Egyptians, which

⁸⁵ HEROD. ii. 109.

was likewise in the hands of the priests, was closely connected with their astrology; because they believed that the different parts of the body had a reference to the astronomical deities, and to each of them a particular member was dedicated. In this way, probably, the regulation took its rise, which also affords us another proof how rigidly the subdivisions in the castes were kept separate, that there should be physicians for particular members of the body, and for the diseases to which these were liable⁸⁶. However, their medical practice consisted generally rather in dietetics than in medicine. Even among the lower classes, especially the peasantry, a certain prescribed form was observed in eating and drinking, and in the use of purification⁸⁷, of which, without a most accurate knowledge of the place and climate, it is impossible to say how much arose from mere prejudice, or was founded on actual experience. That the whole, however, answered well the end desired, is plain from Herodotus's assertion, that the Egyptians next to the Libyans, were the *most healthy* of the nations that he had seen.

It may be readily inferred, from what has been previously said, that the study of the law, and the possession of all the offices connected with it, was entirely confined to the priest caste. Where religion and legislation were so inseparably interwoven, where the latter derived its

⁸⁶ HEROD. ii. 84.

⁸⁷ Ibid. ii. 77.

authority from the sanction of the first, and where the former, in its whole form, is a ceremonial law, what could be expected but that it should be found in the hands of the priests; that they should become the administrators of justice, and occupy the chair of the judge? The joining together the judicial and executive power in the person of the king, was one of the earliest sources of despotism, which, after a little reflection, would scarcely be tolerated; hence it seemed almost a necessary consequence, that attempts should be made either to separate them entirely, or at least to limit one of them. From every thing we know of Egyptian antiquity, there can remain no doubt but that the principal branches of legislation had attained a high point of perfection in Egypt, perhaps higher than in any other country of the East. There requires no farther proof of this, than the fact that the Mosaic legislation, which took place prior to the flourishing period of the Pharaohs, was, (without questioning how much or how little might have been taken therefrom), formed upon the Egyptian model. Some of their kings, Bocchoris in particular, are celebrated as great legislators⁸⁸; and though it may have happened that the work of many centuries, and many philosophers, was unjustly ascribed to individuals, it does not the less prove that it ex-

⁸⁸ DIODORUS, i. p. 90. To Bocchoris, in particular, are ascribed the laws relating to trade and commerce.

isted. I shall return to this subject in the following chapter.

Finally, the historical learning of the priests was, as I think I have already sufficiently proved, principally founded upon public monuments, and it must on that account have been esteemed. It depended therefore upon art; and this leads to another very interesting question in the political antiquity of Egypt, which requires at least a few observations—What was the state of the arts?

Even a mere glance at the various kinds of artificial labour which they have left behind, leads to the conjecture, that art with them was of a different nature from what it was with the rest of mankind. The same glance almost leads to the general conclusion, that art here stood in a much closer relation to practical life; and that though it often assumes a massive and majestic character, representations of the *beau ideal* were not, or could not be, its aim. This, indeed, could not be possible in a nation that made art, from its origin to its highest perfection, the foundation of their policy and learning; among whom, therefore, it must have attained a high importance; such an importance, that if we were in a condition to write their history, with it must be given, to a certain degree, the history of the higher cultivation of the nation, which, in a great measure, was founded upon it; but which, on this very account, could not have the same scope as among other nations, where it remained

entirely unfettered, because *it was carried on for itself alone*⁸⁹.

There were only *two great branches* of art in Egypt. *Architecture* and *Sculpture*. These were not only branches of the same stem, but were so intimately connected, that it would be scarcely possible to speak of one without the other; and it remains doubtful whether sculpture was the mistress or handmaiden of architecture. The whole sum of the history of Egyptian art may be compressed into a simple sentence: "The pictorial arts in Egypt depended upon hieroglyphics; these were portrayed by sculpture; but again, sculpture required the public monuments as a fitting place for its representations; and these public monuments, partly in themselves, and partly by the labours of the sculptor, formed the basis upon which the fabric of religion and the state equally rested."

I believe, that the foregoing researches do not fall short of proving, that the Egyptian architecture, from its beginning to its completion, on its own account, without any reference to the sculpture which covered its walls, stood in the closest connection with the state. If the earliest states which were formed in Egypt, were priest states, whose central point was a temple

⁸⁹ I say nothing here of Music; though, as among the representations, musical instruments, especially the harp and guitar, are conspicuous, *Descript. d'Egypte, planches* ii. 44, 91, as well as flutes, and even a double flute i. 70, it is certain the Egyptians did not neglect it. See the treatise in *Descript.* vol. i.

or sanctuary; if they preserved this character not only during their growth, but also after their union into one great empire,—braving all previous revolutions;—must not these edifices, by this alone, have obtained a great importance? The existence of the state, in a great measure, depended upon them; because every thing within it referred to them, and to the religion to which they were dedicated. If even the Jew knits the idea of the continuance, the decline, and the restoration of his state, with that of the stability, overthrow, and rebuilding of his temple, how much more must this have been the case with the Egyptians, where the priest caste had even still greater influence than it had among the Jews! Ought we then to wonder that the building and preservation of these monuments were so much attended to? Besides, let it be borne in mind, that the whole architecture of the nation must, to a certain extent, have been concentrated in their erection and enlargement; as the climate, particularly in Upper Egypt, left but little necessary with regard to private dwellings. Architecture, as a fine art, could scarcely be applied to these in Egypt, where they were built far too lightly for any part of them to be preserved; hence its application only to public edifices, temples, and palaces. They were destined for very numerous purposes; and even the temples, from their whole arrangement, could not well have been intended, exclusively, for religious worship. The proper sanctuary is only

a kind of chapel of moderate extent⁹⁰; but this chapel is surrounded by stupendous buildings of different sorts, colonades, courts, saloons, etc. Upon their use history affords us no precise information; yet who can doubt, but that in them the assemblies of the priests and state officers took place; that they formed the palaces, though not the mere dwellings of the kings; the places also for the reception of the people bringing tribute, for the audience of ambassadors, for the tribunals of justice, for the holding of banquets given by the kings, etc. etc.? Can there be any doubt that the whole public life of the Egyptians was connected with these state buildings and temples⁹¹?

Formerly these Egyptian monuments were known by little more than dry descriptions; since the appearance of the great French work upon Egypt, however, they are placed as it were before our eyes. In great works on architecture, it pre-eminently happens, that the impression they excite, depends very materially upon the size of the plates in which they are portrayed; the colossal, therefore, to be effective, must appear in colossal representations. How much our ideas are raised by these engravings, respecting the opulence, means, knowledge, and taste of the nation who could erect such monuments,—just as highly finished as

⁹⁰ DENON, ii. p. 164.

⁹¹ Compare the statements of DENON, ii. p. 255, upon the great temple of Karnac.

they are stupendous ! To what inferences will they not lead upon the early history of the world ; upon the splendour and might of ancient nations ; and the relations and connections of states ! According to these should the nation be judged of by posterity ; and however numerous the problems (perhaps unsolvable problems), which may still remain, we cannot easily err very widely respecting the whole : too many inlets are open, by which we may penetrate into the interior of their character, of their knowledge, and of their whole existence.

The architecture itself has undergone a close examination, both with regard to its mechanical and æsthetic qualities, by many who are capable of criticising it, and of forming a correct judgment respecting it ; and certainly by such as from their early education, were rather prejudiced against it than prepossessed in its favour. It has not only stood this test as a whole, but appears more correct, and richer, and more perfect, in proportion as the examination is carried into its details.

That a theory, whose rules were invariably followed, must have formed the groundwork of this architecture is manifest. How else shall we account for every thing about it being so well adjusted, so nicely adapted to the end proposed. The plan once laid down at the foundation, seems to have been invariably followed in every temple, for each forms a finished whole, though the building of it perhaps took

up centuries. By this means this architecture always preserved the same character, and perhaps underwent less change in the course of a thousand years than that of the Greeks in a century.

The plan and the regulation of these sanctuaries seem, notwithstanding the differences in their size, and some lesser matters, to have been in their main points so much alike, that the general rules are easily recognised in them, by which public architecture in Egypt was indissolubly bound. The first entrance was to be composed of masses, filling the mind with awe and veneration by their magnitude; hence those immense pylones, or blunted pyramids, peculiar to Egyptian architecture, between which the entrance was placed⁹². Through this they passed into an open court surrounded with columns, which had partition walls, half or two-thirds of their height. These courts, with columns, seem to have been intended for the congregation of the people, in order that they might see the holy ceremonies and processions from a certain distance. Every thing, therefore, was so regulated and calculated, that this might be done conveniently. To this court followed the great portico, supported by three or four rows of immense columns, to which a second portico very often succeeded. From these was a way

⁹² See above, p. 52, sqq.

into the saloons, of which there were three or four behind one another, probably intended for processions, as they are often portrayed on the walls, and other ceremonies; the last of these saloons formed the proper sanctuary. This consisted of a niche of granite, or porphyry, in one piece, which contained the sacred animal, or even the statue of the deity, who was here worshipped. On both sides of the saloons, as well as behind, were corridors, which led into chambers and apartments, the dwellings or abode of the priests. The whole was again surrounded by an enclosure; so that the number of walls effectually prevented the entrance to the sanctuary from being violated by the profane. All here was of stone, without cement; every thing, therefore, was estimated to endure by its own massiveness, so that even time could do but little against these edifices. What still remains standing, stands fixed and immoveable; man and fire have here and there expended their fury upon them; the shock of earthquakes is unknown in Egypt.

The most imposing of the separate members of this architecture, are those huge entrances, and the prodigious masses which help to form them. They have been examined within as well as without; and seem to have served not only to increase the general magnificence, but to have had a particular end; and a very probable conjecture has been started, that their

terraces were made use of for astronomical and astrological observations ⁹³.

But above all, it is the pillars and their capitals which most excite astonishment. It is in these that the great magnificence of the Egyptian architecture displays itself, notwithstanding its simplicity, in so wonderful and admirable a manner. The ornaments of the capitals are evidently borrowed from a few native plants,—the lotus, the palm, and some others. Who would have believed that fancy could have found a sufficient field in these for the production of such an astonishing and endless variety? The Egyptian pillars are in this respect unlike the Grecian, as the capital of every pillar has its own peculiar ornament; though not without reference to the dimensions of the other parts, so that the effect of the whole is not thereby injured. The monuments, moreover, lead to enlarged views respecting the history and antiquity of the architecture. The cursory inspection of the temples of Thebes, Philæ, and others, by Denon, enabled him to mark the progress, and to trace the gradations of architectural science ⁹⁴; and his views have been confirmed by the minute examinations of Gau and others. Though some of the temples at Thebes may betray even the infancy of the

⁹³ This seems confirmed by the modern discovery, that the windows in the pylones are so arranged that a person can only look upwards and view the heavens, they do not allow one to look upon the earth. MINUTOLI, p. 44.

⁹⁴ DENON, ii. p. 91, 107, and particularly 161.

science, yet those of Apollinopolis Magna, and Tentyra display it in the highest perfection which it ever obtained in Egypt. It might perhaps have taken centuries to bring it to this maturity; and even the few fragments, which may be gleaned of Egyptian history, strengthen the belief, that the erection of one of those stupendous monuments was not the work of *one* but of *many* generations. How many kings were there, according to Herodotus, who added to the temple of Phtha at Memphis before it was fully completed? But what will be our ideas of the antiquity of this art, when we are informed of the discovery made at Elephantis, Edfu, and other places, that even these ancient monuments were, in part, built of the materials of other monuments, which were then just as ancient⁹⁵? What a long succession of centuries must have passed away, during which Upper Egypt remained the central point of the civilized world!

But in Egypt, the sister art, *sculpture*, is almost inseparably connected with architecture, a science which, though naturally dumb, speaks with the tongue of her sister! A passing glance at the Egyptian monuments teaches, beyond contradiction, that the principal application of sculpture was to portray hieroglyphics, and the subjects to which they refer, was the representation of sacred rites, adorations, offerings, and

⁹⁵ *Description d'Egypte*, cap. i. p. 59.

processions. But as it is undeniable, that hieroglyphics continued the principal support of sculpture, and with it of all the pictorial arts of Egypt, this explains, in my opinion, in a great measure, the course which the art took in this country.

Hieroglyphic writing borrowed its characters from the objects of nature and art which it portrayed. If in these representations the artists aimed to attain merely perspicuity, it was necessary that the objects they represented should be immediately recognised. Accuracy and precision of outline, and mechanical skill in the detail, would effect this; and in these respects the pictorial arts of Egypt excelled, even when not applied to hieroglyphics. They portrayed subjects at rest rather than in motion,—military pieces excepted;—expression of the passions was completely beyond their sphere. If, however, the representations of objects at rest rather than in motion be acknowledged to be the proper end of sculpture, then it will appear that it remained in Egypt true to its character; but as it was so little anxious to give expression to the *beau ideal*, it must, upon that account alone, notwithstanding the great perfection it attained to in other respects, be ranked a grade below the highest efforts of the art.

The immense number of sculptures with which the partitions and walls are decorated, is the first thing to excite the astonishment of the beholder. After all that the united industry of

the French artists have given us in their engravings, they still remain no more than so many specimens. It formed part of the completion of an Egyptian temple, that its walls, its columns, as well as the ceilings, should be *wholly* covered with sculpture; the long narrow reliefs of the cornices alone excepted, which always remained clear. They were so disposed, however, according to settled rules, as not to interfere with the general appearance of the building, neither were they allowed to interrupt the massive forms of the architecture. According to these rules were regulated the size and order of the reliefs; and, consequently, nothing here seems overcharged, though all is covered with sculpture. But when it becomes manifest, by the more accurate examination of the stone, that the facility of working upon it with the chisel was very great, this opulence becomes in some degree accounted for.—What a number of artists, therefore, must ancient Egypt have contained, in order to perform all this labour!

Upon the subjects of these sculptures a tolerably clear light has lately been shed; so much so, that we can at least now judge of them in a general way, although but little advance has been made in the explanation of particulars. Proper hieroglyphics form but a small part of them; the principal are the great reliefs, or pictures, which represent religious rights, the deities, and their worship. These consist, in a great measure, of offerings of various kinds; some-

times also sacrifices, among which human victims are scarcely to be mistaken. I have stated, in the preceding volume, that I do not by any means consider these works of art as merely ornamental, but that I believe them to have an historical sense, as representations of offerings made by the Pharaohs in homage to the priests, who, in return, conferred upon these monarchs honourable distinctions and privileges⁹⁶. But as similar, or even the same pictures are so often repeated, one would suppose the pictorial art to have been limited by law to certain subjects. Besides these, there are representations of processions, among which those of the sacred ark, already described, are most frequent, though with many variations⁹⁷. In the following chapter it will be seen, that sculpture was by no means confined to these religious subjects, but that the chisel was sometimes employed, at least on the palace walls of Thebes, to portray and perpetuate pages of history. Near the religious representations are found inscriptions, wholly composed in hieroglyphics, which evidently refer to them; but nothing similar has yet been discovered near the historical reliefs⁹⁸.

⁹⁶ See preceding volume, p. 373, sqq.

⁹⁷ See in particular the one portrayed upon the temple of Karnac at Thebes, *Antiquités*, vol. iii. plates xxxii. xxxvi.

⁹⁸ Besides the accounts which have been published by the French literati and artists, the narrative of the British Captain Burr, who was attached to the Indian division that was sent to Egypt, is deserving of attention; it will be found in *Bibl. Britannica*, vol. xxxviii. *Literature*, p. 208—221. He certainly visited only the temple of Denderah; but it cannot be unin-

But what must have heightened in a wonderful manner the effect of these sculptures, and the general appearance of these temples was, that all these sculptures were likewise paintings. Probably all those on the outside were painted as well as those of the interior⁹⁹. In this operation only four, or, reckoning the white, only five colours were made use of, that is, yellow, red, blue, green, and the white, but no intermixture of them. The application of these colours to the various objects was subject to fixed rules. The same gods were represented in the same colours; as, for example, Ammon usually blue. It is difficult to imagine the im-

teresting to hear the observations of a British traveller, more especially when just come from India, upon the same object which had just been examined by the French, as it will, at least, serve to convince us of the credit due to the statements and observations of the former. In the drapery of the figures he recognises the costume which still prevails in India. "Often," says he, "have I conjectured, and this conjecture was never so much strengthened as by the view of this temple, and the sculpture with which it is ornamented, that a greater resemblance in manners, and consequently a closer friendly connection, must formerly have existed among the nations of the East, when they were yet united by the same worship." It is, therefore, *only* a resemblance, and not an exact likeness; it is not of mutual descent, but of mutual intercourse, of which he here speaks. "The Indians, who accompanied us," he adds, "regarded these ruins with a mixture of wonder and veneration; the effect of a resemblance which many of the figures they saw here bore to their own deities; and still more of the opinion that this temple was the work of a Rakschah who had visited the earth." In confirmation of what is stated in the foregoing volume (p. 456) from ALVAREZ respecting the statues of lions, as fountains, at Axum; I see that Burr mentions the same at Denderah; namely, couchant lions, whose jaws serve for water spouts. This therefore is ancient Egyptian taste; and confirms what is said upon the antiquity of Axum, if indeed that requires any confirmation.

⁹⁹ The illuminated leaf, with the temple of Karnac, affords a lively impression of this remarkable sight. *Antiquités*, vol. iii. plate xxxiv.

pression made upon the beholder, by this display of colours upon these huge buildings; eye-witnesses affirm, that what they have seen of it completely harmonizes with the general character of the whole¹⁰⁰. But we can easily conceive, that this use of colours might have a striking effect upon the great mass of the people. Besides this, these paintings were made use of for embellishing the walls of the rock-sepulchres; and these representations are, as near as possible, exact copies of the objects and affairs of common life, and are highly finished. Precision and correctness of outline seem to have been duly observed; but what they are most distinguished by, is the freshness and durability of the colours; in this respect the Egyptians seem to have surpassed all other people; but of the intermixing of colours they do not seem to have had the slightest idea¹⁰¹.

If under these circumstances the application of painting became necessarily limited, that of sculpture was, in an equal proportion, extended. As by this, especially, hieroglyphics were portrayed, it consequently occupied, to a certain degree, the place of writing; at least in all those affairs which would have been written down for posterity; and since this was done upon the

¹⁰⁰ *Description d’Egypte*, cap. v. p. 18.

¹⁰¹ [It is very difficult to believe this; for it seems almost impossible that a painter could be long in the habit of using colours without accident making him acquainted with the effect of compounding them. Ought we not rather to suppose that its practice was on some account forbidden rather than unknown? *Trans.*]

public monuments, architecture and sculpture became here so closely connected, that it may be doubted which of the two was formed for the other. There was scarcely anywhere in ancient Egypt, a temple whose walls were not covered with inscriptions and reliefs; and if it should not be absolutely established, that these buildings were erected to receive these inscriptions, that certainly formed one of their principal objects. However difficult our situation may make it for us to explain these inscriptions and representations, yet it is clearly manifest, that they relate in part to astronomical, historical, strictly religious, and perhaps moral subjects. Since architecture and sculpture, in this manner, walked hand in hand among the Egyptians, their public monuments and edifices preserved thereby a new and important consideration, greater than what they ever could have done among any other people. "An Egyptian temple," says a modern traveller¹⁰², "is, as it were, an open book, where science unfolds, where morality teaches, where the useful arts are set forth. Every thing seems to speak, all seems animated; and all in the same spirit¹⁰³. The

¹⁰² DENON, ii. p. 16.

¹⁰³ [I cannot withhold the following similar animated description by one of our own countrymen: "Every thing seems to speak and move around you, and is so different from what a person meets with in any part of Europe, that the mind is astonished, and feels as if absolutely introduced to beings of olden time, to converse with them, and to witness the ceremonies with which they delighted to honour their god." DR. RICHARDSON'S *Travels*. *Trans.*]

doorposts, the most secret corners, give a lesson or a rule; and the whole in most wonderful harmony." Thus, then, these majestic buildings became, in a manner, living archives of the science and knowledge of the nation; after this, can we be at all surprised at the great importance which they had in the eyes of the Egyptians?

The arts in general, perhaps, with the exception of the mere laborious part, formed in Egypt a portion of the learning of the priests. What a large portion of mechanical and mathematical knowledge, which only the priests possessed, was required for this architecture, even allowing them to have availed themselves of the assistance of artists and overseers in their erection¹⁰⁴? and scarcely could it have been otherwise with sculpture, as by this their knowledge was preserved.

Having thus taken a brief survey of the whole circle of priestly literature and science, or priestly religion, let us now proceed to the *popular* religion, which must necessarily be distinguished from it. It is unquestionably true that a close connection existed between the religion of the people and that of the priests, namely, in the worship of the same deities; but it is equally certain, that, though in particular points they

¹⁰⁴ The highly interesting representation of the removal of a colossus, for which we are indebted to MINUTOLI, plate xiii. certainly proves that human strength was the moving power; but though this might be the case in the transport of the colossus, yet the labour of man would be quite unequal to the task of rearing it up, as well as for the upraising of the immense blocks of stone which formed the ceilings of the halls of columns. Mechanical aid, in these cases, *must* have been brought into operation.

may be found to agree, they could not throughout be the same. The learning of the priests neither could nor should be made the business of the people; it belonged, indeed, exclusively to the higher castes. The popular religion consisted, in Egypt, as well as elsewhere, in the worship of the gods; in the feasts connected with it; and in certain religious opinions, which, in part, had an important influence upon practical life.

Notwithstanding, however, that the same deities which were the object of the priestly religion were worshipped by the people, let it not be supposed that their names had the same ideas attached to them in the popular belief that they had in the learned system of the priests. It is certain, that the notions of the vulgar respecting the gods were as rude among the great mass of the Egyptians as among any other nation; perhaps even ruder, as their worship of animals seems to render probable: a phenomenon which has caused the learned in Egyptian antiquities an amazing deal of trouble. Among the Egyptians, for example, there were not only various kinds of animals held sacred, and which a man durst not kill without incurring the penalty of death; but there were particular individuals of them housed in the temple, where they were tended with the greatest care; offerings were made to them, and the honours of divine worship paid them; indeed, even at their death they were embalmed, and laid in a sacred

sepulchre¹⁰⁵. General as this animal idolatry was among the Egyptians, it varied in different districts. There were only a few kinds of animals to which all the Egyptians paid divine honours. Of the rest, some were in one place holy, and in another unholy; in one nome a man might kill and eat that, which in another he would himself be put to death for injuring¹⁰⁶.

From all that we know of the history of the human race, animal idolatry had its origin in the first and rudest periods of nations. It flowed, without doubt, from the same source as the worship of other natural objects; but I hold it to be very difficult, if not impossible, to explain its origin beyond this: and the insufficiency of all hypotheses, ancient and modern, which have been adopted, sometimes on account of the rarity of the animals, at others from their utility, or their noxiousness to man, sufficiently prove it. Man must become himself a savage before he can be able to judge of the relation in which a savage feels himself towards the brute creation. He will not till then be able to point out the course of perceptions, by which he was brought to regard animals as objects of adoration. The causes before mentioned confer, in my opinion, a power of reasoning upon the savage of which he is not possessed. A mere childish delight in this or that particular kind of animal was most

¹⁰⁵ See the disquisition of MEINERS, upon the animal idolatry of the Egyptians, in his *Vermischten Schriften*, b. i. p. 204—224.

¹⁰⁶ HEROD. ii. 65, etc.

probably the cause, though I by no means hold it for the only one¹⁰⁷.

Let the reader take a rapid survey of the vast regions of Africa, and almost in every part, from the Ethiopian coast to the Senegal, he will find animal idolatry introduced¹⁰⁸; he can hardly then doubt that it also existed among their brethren, the Egyptians, in the infancy of society. If, therefore, we reason from the analogy of other nations, we must conclude that it was also the religion of the earliest rude inhabitants of Egypt, which in the progress of civilization underwent, designedly or accidentally, certain modifications; but certainly could not then have been first introduced.

The great variety in the animal worship seems most naturally explained by the great number of different tribes which inhabited Egypt. A similar alteration is found among the nations of the rest of Africa. What *animals* were held for holy or unholy, seems, in the infancy of the nation, to have depended upon such very trifling and unimportant circumstances, that it is impossible now to ascertain exactly which they were. Why, therefore, the crocodile was holy

¹⁰⁷ See especially what Bossman relates of the worship of serpents at Fida in Guinea (p. 446, etc.). It is not there merely the *species* of the serpent that is sacred and inviolable, but some of them are in a particular building preserved and honoured as gods: exactly as among the Egyptians.

¹⁰⁸ Some very learned remarks are made upon this subject in BOWDICH: *An Essay on the Superstitious Customs and Arts common to the ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians, and the Ashantees*, Lond. 1821; especially upon animal idolatry.

in one part of Egypt, and the hippopotamus in another, it is now impossible to determine any farther than that it was the primeval religion of this or that race.

But in looking to the nature and variety of the animal worship of Egypt in later times, it appears evidently to have stood in a closer relation to the political formation of the people; and to have been made the means in the hands of the ruling priest caste, at the foundation of their colonies, of alluring the neighbouring savage tribes, and of bringing them into a political connection with themselves. The animal idolatry of Egypt differed, as is evident from many passages of Herodotus, according to the nomes. Is it not fair, therefore, to conjecture from this, that it was a custom of the Egyptian priests, in the places where they founded colonies, to gain over the rude inhabitants by the adoption of their worship; and by the appointment of apartments in their temples for the animals which these held sacred, to make these temples the common sanctuary of the tribe?

It is probable, however, that this worship became much changed by political revolutions. For example, the sacred steer of Memphis became the national god of all Egypt, and may we not suppose this to be owing to Memphis having been the capital of all Egypt?

But let us turn now from this animal idolatry, considered as the popular religion, to the very different application which the priests made in

their literature, of the animals held sacred by the vulgar. In the first place, they borrowed many of their written characters from them. As hieroglyphics in general were pictures of objects of nature and art, it cannot appear strange that pictures of animals should form a large proportion of these characters. Farther, as these animals were held sacred by the popular superstition, they became pre-eminently adopted, by a very natural association of ideas, as representatives of divinity. Thus, for example, the sparrow-hawk, whose form is seen upon the entrance of the temples, and in so many other situations, signified in general divine, sacred, consecrated. Thus the beetle signified the universe; and so on. But since these people likewise expressed certain attributes of the gods, by certain animals, it seems very probable that in this way arose the custom, to us so absurd, of representing the deities, which in other respects are imagined to have the human form, with the heads of animals; specimens of which are so frequent upon all the Egyptian monuments. And when we discover the constant endeavour of the priest caste to copy, to a certain degree, the deities, whom they serve, in their bearing and in their whole exterior deportment, it becomes very apparent, why the priests are so often portrayed with animals' heads or masks; although without knowing the ritual of the priesthood, which we do not possess, the explication of particulars must always remain dubious and obscure.

The *sacred rights* and *popular feasts* of the Egyptians are so accurately described by Herodotus¹⁰⁹, that a very just notion may be formed of them without any distrust; and his descriptions are so much the more valuable, because they not only bring us acquainted with the priest caste, but also with the character and manner of thinking of the lower classes. From all that Herodotus says upon this subject, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion, than that the latter, notwithstanding the teaching of the ruling caste, and notwithstanding the influence which the use of agriculture and the arts of peace must have had upon them, still constantly preserved in their character, features of their earliest rude state, above which, in a moral point of view, they seem to have been but very little raised. How could this be otherwise in a country where every branch of scientific knowledge, and every higher part of education, was confined, exclusively, to the upper classes¹¹⁰. Their feasts and

¹⁰⁹ HEROD. ii. 40, 42, 60, 63.

¹¹⁰ Although, according to the remarks made in the introduction (p. 12), upon the knowledge of hieroglyphics, so far as the demotic writing was derived from these, they could not be wholly hidden from the people, yet the *symbolic* and *enigmatic* writings still remained unknown to them; and though they saw the inscriptions on the monuments, yet, as far as I know, no proof exists, that they were able to read the sacred books of the priests, and understand them. That the priest caste, as well as the Bramins, kept this locked up from the nation, in order to preserve in their own body the exclusive possession of knowledge which the people could not do without, does not require, in my opinion, a single proof, because it seems to spring from the spirit of the caste. I cannot agree in opinion with ZÆGA, *de Obeliscis*, p. 482, that the knowledge of hieroglyphics was peculiar to the priesthood, merely because it was too difficult, and required too much time in learning to be attained by the great body of the people.

holy rites were nearly, without exception, made up of superstition and enthusiasm, in which they gave themselves up to savage pleasure, or extravagant penitence and atonement for their real or imaginary sins. The latter were much more frequent and excessive among the Egyptians than the former : few of their feasts were without penances ; and most of their offerings to the gods were expiatory sacrifices. Others, on the contrary, were accompanied by violent expressions of joy, particularly their processions, which always bore the stamp of that rude age, in which moral sentiments, and refined notions of decency, and good manners, were but slightly developed ¹¹¹.

Among a people, that from the earliest times had been governed by priests, oracles are the first things that would be expected ; the strongest band by which rude nations, in the infancy of society, can be chained to a certain degree of civilization ! In the cases of Meroë and Ammonium, examples have already been offered of states, in which oracles were the mainspring that regulated all their movements ; and from what is known of Egypt in later times, they do

¹¹¹ HEROD. ii. 48. Proofs of this might also have been expected to be found in the sculpture, which so often portray offerings and sacred rites. But the art here again seems to have had its fixed prescriptions, since it keeps itself so closely within certain boundaries. Frequently is the offering of the king, known by his headdress, with his suite represented : when the people appear, they are represented by single figures placed exactly in a line, one after the other, in respectful order. The greater number of figures, however, are priests, shown by their *clothing and headdress*.

not seem to have exercised less influence in the formation of the earlier Egyptian states. Whether each settlement of priests had an oracle originally connected with it, is not known; but in the time of Herodotus, they are found, though not in all, yet certainly in many of the principal cities and temples of Egypt. Thus the oracle of Ammon at Thebes, of Hercules, of Orus, or Apollo, of Bubastis, or Artemis, of Mars and Minerva, each in the city in which they had their seat, are expressly mentioned by him; but the most famous of all, from some cause now unknown, was the oracle of Latona in the city Buto ¹¹². The way in which the oracles were delivered was not everywhere the same; that of the oracle of Ammon by the sacred ship, has been already explained in the foregoing volume ¹¹³. According to the direct testimony of Herodotus, they were only given by the gods, and only by certain of these to whom it was appointed: a regulation by which the priest caste kept them more securely in their own hands.

Of all the religious opinions of the Egyptians, there was no one that exercised so great an influence upon their private life and public deportment, as their belief in an *existence after death*; which, therefore, in a description of the political

¹¹² HEROD. ii. 83, 154.

¹¹³ Page 404. It will be found again represented in the temple of Karnac; *Descript. d'Egypte, Antiquités*, vol. xiv. plates xxxii. xxxvi.; also at Elephantis, vol. i. plate xxxvii.

state of the nation, it would be unpardonable to pass over in silence. That this belief prevailed in Egypt all writers agree; it is only when we ask how it was formed, that the difficulty begins; as upon this point there reigns a diversity of opinion, which cannot be easily reconciled. The plainest and most credible account seems that preserved by Herodotus, when he says¹¹⁴: "According to the opinion of the Egyptians, Bacchus and Ceres are the rulers of the lower world. But the Egyptians are the first who have asserted that the soul of man is immortal; for when the body perishes, it enters the body of a newly-born animal; but when it has passed through all the land animals, sea animals and fowls, it again returns to a human body. This transmigration is completely performed in three thousand years." From this passage it is evident that the Egyptians believed in the transmigration of souls, so that the soul in a destined cycle, wandered through the bodies of every species of animals, till it again returned to a human body: not to the one it had formerly occupied, but to a new one. But another question naturally arises here, how do the regulations which were made in Egypt, as well with regard to the preservation of the corpse by embalming, as the secure lodgment of it in an elaborately built tomb, agree with this description? How can the notions respecting the lower world,

¹¹⁴ HEROD. ii. 123.

Hades, or, as it was here called, *the Amenthes*, which, from certain evidence, even from that of Herodotus, are known to have prevailed in the nation, be made to agree with this? These two ideas are so directly opposed to each other, that the impossibility of reconciling them must be allowed by all¹¹⁵.

This difficulty can only be accounted for, in my opinion, from the difference between the vulgar religion and the learned religion of the priests. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls, in the way it is imputed to the Egyptians by Herodotus, could not possibly be the popular belief: it bears about it too clearly the marks of having been formed according to a scientific system. Is not this evidently betrayed, in the opinion that the soul must pass through *all* species of animals, till it again becomes united to a human body; and again more especially by the belief, that this happened in a fixed cycle of time, which was, without doubt determined upon from astronomical and astrological observations¹¹⁶? I think myself therefore justified in considering the doctrine of the transmigration of souls as a philosophical system of

¹¹⁵ ZOEGA, who has discussed with much learning the notions of the Egyptians respecting the lower world (*de Obeliscis*, p. 294, 310), understands Herodotus as follows: the soul descends with the body into the lower world, and first commences its wanderings when the latter is decayed. But we very naturally demand, how could this opinion prevail among a people who so embalmed the corpses, that they *never decayed at all*.

¹¹⁶ Respecting this cycle see what GATTERER says, p. 160, of the treatise already quoted.

the priests, and by no means the religion of the vulgar.

Completely different from this were the faith and notions of the people, as they are clearly and concisely described to us by Diodorus¹¹⁷. "The Egyptians, he says, consider this life as of very trifling consequence, and they therefore value in proportion a quiet repose after death. This leads them to consider the habitations of the living as mere lodgings, in which, as travellers, they put up for a short time; while they call the sepulchres of the dead everlasting dwellings, because the dead continue in the grave such an immeasurable length of time. They therefore pay but little attention to the building of their houses, but bestow a cost and care, scarcely credible, upon their sepulchres." Although these words may require some farther explanation, yet it is evident, at the first glance, that they offer the key to the most interesting part of Egyptian antiquity.

According to this authority, the belief in a *continuance after death* was not only entertained by the people, but had also an important influence upon practical life. What the ideas of the Egyptians were respecting this *continuance* Diodorus does not exactly inform us; but if we consider their whole proceedings with regard to their dead, a doubt can scarcely remain upon the subject. It was closely connected by them

¹¹⁷ DIODORUS, i. p. 60, 61.

with the *continuance of the body*, and was therefore, for the most part, a coarse sensual kind of notion. The identity of the body was never laid aside; upon its preservation depended the continuance of existence. It is possible that certain philosophical ideas may afterwards have been joined to this notion, but they can be no farther developed, because it was a rude vulgar superstition; and, besides, we should infallibly be led to impute ideas, to the Egyptians which they never had. But if this be taken as the foundation, and the peculiarities of the country and climate are duly taken into consideration, every custom of the Egyptians with regard to the treatment of their corpses, will be easily accounted for.

It is at once evident from this why the preparation of mummies was so carefully attended to, and became so general in Egypt. The three different methods, more or less costly, are described by Herodotus¹¹⁸. Who can help seeing that every thing depended upon this preservation?—A preservation which not merely secured the continuance of the body for a time, but, supposing it to have escaped violent destruction, preserved it for ever.

Hence, immediately may be inferred, the necessity for a convenient and secure place in which to bestow the dead bodies. Graves such as we have, where the corpse is subject to decay, would be quite unfit for the purpose;

¹¹⁸ HEROD. ii. 86—88.

and still more so the urns, preserving only the ashes, of the Greeks and Romans. In fact real habitations for the dead were required, in which their continuance and quiet might be as secure as possible. The fertile plains of Egypt, besides that its confined space scarcely afforded room for the living, was totally unfit, on account of the inundations of the Nile; nature herself, however, seems as it were to have appointed a place for them. The rocky strip at the foot of the western mountain-chain, and the mountain itself, was not only beyond the reach of the floods, but afforded, by its caves and its general character, just the situation required; since, where there were no natural caves, vaults in the rocks might be easily made, which completely answered the purpose. This rocky strip of Egypt gives proofs of this in every part. A countless number of sepulchres of this kind, sometimes in the mountain, and at others in large subterranean caverns under the rocky soil, to which the descent is by openings or pits, are found both in Middle and Lower Egypt along the Libyan chain. Every Egyptian city required a resting place of this kind for its dead, in proportion to the extent of that of the capital. The sepulchres of Thebes, as well the royal tombs, which lie apart in the retired stony valley, as the other numerous vaults¹¹⁹, have hitherto more particu-

¹¹⁹ See the engravings in DENON, plate xlii., and many excellent statements and remarks, ii. 108, 271, 287.

larly engaged the attention of travellers, although there are others which equally deserve to be explored ¹²⁰.

We are told by Diodorus, that it was upon adorning these everlasting abodes that the Egyptians bestowed their greatest care. The idea that the future life is a continuation of the present, appears to be too natural to man not to be generally adopted. Hence, therefore, the custom that the sepulchres were mostly family sepulchres ¹²¹; hence, also, the kind of painting and ornaments with which they were adorned. Thus, as the present life of the Egyptians was divided between the obligations of religion and domestic affairs, they represented both these in the gloomy caverns of the dead. The walls, therefore, were partly covered with hieroglyphics and religious subjects, and partly with matters of everyday life,—of agriculture, of arts, etc., by which, as I have elsewhere remarked, the sepulchres are the true schools of Egyptian antiquities.

As many of these sepulchres, to which the descent is made by pits, were under the rocky soil, covered with sand, there arose a necessity for the erection of some monument over them, if it were wished to preserve the whole distinct, or to prevent the entrance from being choked up. It is highly probable that the pyramids

¹²⁰ Like that of Eilethya. *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, iii. 141, etc.

¹²¹ DENON, plate lxxvi. ii. 313.

were raised for this purpose. Their shape was best adapted to answer the end described, and it was only by degrees that they became formed into such huge masses¹²²; this seems to be evinced by the still existing shorter pyramids, more especially if the conjecture be true, that the great pyramids were the work of the most ancient Ethiopian race of Pharaohs, mentioned by Herodotus, and copies of the pyramids at Meroë¹²³. Herodotus remarks, that the sub-

¹²² See what is said upon this subject in ZOECA, *de Obeliscis*, 379, etc.

¹²³ See above, p. 115. It is there mentioned that Herodotus's account of the builders of the pyramids was by no means the only one. It was the account of the priests of Memphis, whose knowledge was confined to the builders of their own temple and the monuments near it. Did they know nothing of the pyramids of Saccara, and the rest of Middle Egypt? Their relation shows, however, that the dynasty under whom they were built, must have reigned during a long period: as a comparison with the royal sepulchres at Thebes does that it was no Theban dynasty. They are altogether in a different style; they contain neither hieroglyphics nor reliefs. It is certain, from the latest discoveries, that pyramid architecture, though upon a smaller scale, was quite common at Meroë. These are the reasons which induce me to believe, that the Egyptian pyramids belong to the most ancient monuments, and that they were built by those eighteen Ethiopian Pharaohs, who, according to Herodotus, reigned long before Sesostris, and are included in the three hundred and thirty kings whose names were read over by the priests. This conjecture—for I give it as nothing more—at least explains the whole; and I venture to bring it forward because nothing farther is founded upon it. My opinion, however, is confirmed by Manetho, who places the building of the great pyramid, which Herodotus refers to Cheops, in the *fourth* dynasty. This was one of the dynasties of Memphis, though of foreign extraction, and its third king *Suphis*, a contemner of the gods, but afterwards converted, is said to have built it. EUSEB. *Chron.* 207. I think it may be concluded from all this, that the pyramids belong to the most ancient monuments of Egypt, and that they are very probably of Ethiopian origin. At the instigation of COUNT MINUTOLI, a pyramid of Saccara has been opened; he mentions the similarity which its formation bears to those of Meroë. *Journey*, p. 299. The hieroglyphics found therein, on the posts of a side door, seem certainly to contradict the opinion hitherto entertained, that there are no

terraneous caverns, under the great pyramid, was most highly deserving of admiration¹²⁴; and the openings, or pits, which are found as well in this as in the pyramids at Saccara, could scarcely have been intended for any other purpose but the entrance¹²⁵ to those subterranean chambers of the dead, a more accurate examination of which is still reserved for future travellers.

The situation of all these sepulchres and tombs completely harmonizes with the sombre ideas of death. It was at the entrance of the desert, where nature herself seemed to die; where all vegetation ceased; and where measureless plains succeeded, whose boundaries the eye could not reach! What was more natural, than that under such circumstances the idea of an *empire of the dead*, a lower world, an *Amenthes* should be formed among the Egyptians? And since they contemplated even the abode, as a continuance of the present life, it will be evident from that, how many ideas might become interwoven with it, which otherwise would appear

hieroglyphics in the pyramids; should these, however, upon farther inquiry, be found to be the only ones, it might render the conjecture admissible, that they were not cut in till afterwards, as, upon another door, others are found drawn with black paint, which certainly do not belong to the original foundation. In the pyramids of Meroë a few hieroglyphics have been discovered; yet at present only in the vestibule; as hitherto no one has been able to penetrate into the interior. See the foregoing volume, p. 387, and CAILLAUD, plate xlv. xlv.

¹²⁴ HEROD. ii. 124. He expressly adds, that their founder, Cheops, intended them for sepulchres.

¹²⁵ ZOEGA, l. c.

strange. The lower world had its deities, its inhabitants, even its animals. Dionysos and Ceres, that is, according to Herodotus's own interpretation, Osiris and Isis governed the lower world, where the former bore the surname of Serapis¹²⁶. The latter, indeed, has his own proper temple, in the midst of the Egyptian empire of death¹²⁷. Wolves are the animals of the lower world, the guardians of Amenthēs¹²⁸. Hence, therefore, they appear so frequently, as well as the deities just mentioned, upon the monuments of the dead.

Thus becomes explained why the Egyptians paid so much attention to their funerals. Until deposited in the tomb, the deceased could not enter the empire of death; nor would the tranquil continuance of his existence be secured, until here he had taken up his fixed abode. The mummies of their ancestors and families, therefore, might well be the surest pledges among the Egyptians¹²⁹; for there was no duty more sacred, according to their notions, than that of redeeming them, and giving them a secure resting place.

These are, as I believe, the principal points of the opinion of the Egyptians respecting a hereafter, so far as believed by the people.

¹²⁶ ZOECA, p. 302, 310.

¹²⁷ The ancient Serapeum (different from the later one in Alexandria), is said by Strabo, p. 1161, to have been situated in the sand.

¹²⁸ HEROD. ii. 122; ZOECA, p. 307, etc.

¹²⁹ DIODORUS, i. p. 104.

But, as the picture of the empire of death became gradually filled up by them, and the whole representation extended, many other ideas were by degrees knit to them, and of these there are none more deserving our attention than that of the *rewards* and *punishments* administered by the judges of the lower world.

How little soever this notion may seem to agree at the first glance, with that of the Egyptian empire of death, yet it may easily be seen, how this belief might arise, when once the idea of an empire like that of the upper world, by a dominion of deities, had been transferred to it. But it was, as is clearly seen from Diodorus's statement, quite of a different nature from what it is among us, and was quite in unison with the other opinions of the nation respecting the lower world. Ere yet the ceremonies of the funeral began¹³⁰, as we are informed by the same writer, a tribunal of death was assembled, consisting of forty members; this inquired into the conduct of the deceased, and determined whether he was worthy of burial or not. Every one was at liberty to appear in this court as accuser, but he was

¹³⁰ DIODORUS, i. p. 102, 103. Among the Egyptian funeral customs, Diodorus mentions in this place, that of the passage of the dead bodies over a lake in a bark, from which the Greek fable of the Styx is said to have arisen. This bark is frequently seen represented, sometimes in temples, sometimes on papyrus rolls, as well as in the work, which I shall presently quote, of H. FONTANA. Care must be taken not to confound this with the oracle ship of Ammon described in the foregoing volume, p. 404, which is easily distinguished by the insignia of Ammon, and the portable sanctuary always found upon it.

heavily punished who was found to have brought forward a false accusation. If the deceased was adjudged worthy of burial, the deities of the lower world were then invoked to receive him as an inhabitant among the just.

From this account it is very plain that the idea of rewards and punishments after death was closely connected with the granting or not granting of the rites of sepulchre¹³¹. Indeed, accordingly as the deceased obtained this or not was the entrance to the empire of death opened or closed, and with that his secure and quiet existence. But when this tribunal of death had once become familiar to the people, when, moreover, they had given to the lower world a ruler and judge, it is not at all surprising that we should find this institution still farther extended to the lower world, and see Serapis introduced there as judge of the dead. A tribunal of the dead, of this kind, is portrayed upon a coffin in the British Museum, of which Zoëga has given an admirable explanation¹³². A scene resembling this is portrayed upon the upper end of a papyrus roll, which was found in the coffin of a mummy, and brought by the French expedition into Europe¹³³: Osiris is here discovered sitting as

¹³¹ The celebrated death tribunal over the kings had, therefore, in my opinion, exactly the same sense; and were only distinguished from those over private persons by being more solemn.

¹³² ZOEGA, *de Obeliscis*, p. 308.

¹³³ The engraving in DENON, plate cxli. He explains it altogether wrong to be an initiation into the mysteries.

judge, with his usual attributes. Before him is a lotus flower, as an emblem of the present life, and a lion, probably as keeper of the lower world. A small human figure is being weighed in a large scale, by two figures, or genii, with animals' heads; one with that of a dog, as symbolical of great sensuality; the other with that of the sparrow hawk, the usual symbol of the divine nature. Both lay hold of the scales and seem to address Osiris. Hermes, with the ibis head, stands before the latter, with writing tablets in his hand, wherein he notes the faults and virtues of the deceased¹³⁴. One would, therefore, conjecture from the above, that this tribunal was about to decide, whether the new comer might remain in the empire of death or not. Probably, however, these notions became still farther developed, and in the progress of time, completely new ones might become knit to the old ones, which approached much nearer to our ideas of rewards and punishments.

I have thus far endeavoured to set forth the state and government of Egypt in general under the Pharaohs. Let me hope that many

¹³⁴ The explanation of some subordinate figures, respecting which I am uncertain, I must leave to a future commentator. We have since obtained many copies of similar representations, which are partly explained; and especially *Copie figurée d'un Rouleau de Papyrus trouvé en Egypte*, par M. FONTANA, expliqué par M. DE HAMMER, à Vienna, 1822. The principal figures, Osiris, or Serapis, as judge of the dead, Theut, or Hermes, as writer, a figure with the scales, are the same; but in the subordinate figures there is much variety.

things will become still clearer, and more readily perceptible in the next chapter, in which I shall endeavour to picture the principal state of ancient Egypt—the hundred-gated Thebes.

EGYPTIANS.

CHAPTER III.

Thebes and its Monuments.

ETHIOPIA AND EGYPT WERE HER STRENGTH, AND IT WAS INFINITE;
PUT AND LUBIM WERE THY HELPERS. NAHUM, iii. 9.

HOWEVER great the obscurity in which the history of Egypt is involved, there can be no doubt but that the state of Thebes was one of the earliest and most powerful. It is to this state, more particularly, that the efforts of the moderns have been directed; efforts, which have been eminently successful in rescuing its most interesting antiquities from oblivion, which have restored it, as it were, from its ancient ruins; and are still prosecuted with much vigour and good fortune. Its history, therefore, undoubtedly is one of great importance; not merely for Egypt alone, but as regards the general history of the world. Its monuments testify to us of a time when it was the centre of the civilization of the human race; a civilization, it is true, which has not endured, but which, nevertheless, forms one of the steps by

which mankind has attained to a higher perfection. Who, then, would not like to see an accurate and complete narrative of its origin, rise, and fall? But who can now expect or require such a history? We pass at once from the regions of light into an obscure twilight which has scarcely dawned, and which we can scarcely hope ever to see expand into the fulness of day. Lest, therefore, expectation should become too sanguine, let us take a glance at the materials left for a history of ancient Thebes: they consist of *writers* and the *monuments*.

If Herodotus had left us as much upon the history of Thebes as he might have done, how satisfactory would have been our information! It is extraordinary that he, who according to his own account was in Thebes¹, should have scarcely said a word of its monuments, and but a little more of its history. If the latter is to be ascribed to his predecessor, Hecataeus of Miletus, having recently visited and described it, how much reason have we to wish that the latter had not written at all. And as for its history, all we have from Herodotus is a few particulars which he collected in conversation with the priests there; for what he says elsewhere upon Egypt, from the accounts related to him by the priests, he seems to have obtained from the priests of Memphis and Heli-

¹ HEROD. ii. 143.

opolis, cities which he visited before he went to Thebes².

Diodorus of Sicily is our principal authority. We are indebted to him for the most accurate accounts of the monuments of Thebes, and of its history and government. The credibility of his statements mainly depends upon the sources whence he drew them; and these are of three kinds: personal inspection; the information he obtained from the priests at Thebes; the accounts of preceding Greek writers, who had visited and described Thebes before him.

Diodorus was himself in Thebes. According to his own account, he visited Egypt in the 108th Olympiad, that is between 60 and 56 years before Christ, during the dominion of Ptolemy Auletes³. He speaks, therefore, in his descriptions as an eyewitness, and there is no reason here to suspect him of falsehood or exaggeration; the less, indeed, because he refers to the agreement of his statements with those of other writers⁴. Some of his descriptions, nevertheless, seem to have been borrowed; either because he had not noted down the circumstances, or for some other unknown reason. It does not, however, follow from this

² From the passage ii. 3, it is clear that Herodotus went first to Memphis, at that time the capital, and obtained there his information from the priests; and then went to Heliopolis and Thebes for the sake of comparing it with theirs. The historical accounts, cap. 99—142, he noted down as he received them from the mouths of the priests. He generally mentions what he received from the priests at Thebes, as, for instance, cap. 143.

³ DIODORUS, i. p. 56.

⁴ DIODORUS, l. c.

that he had not himself seen the objects which he describes.

A second source open to him was the accounts possessed by the priests of Thebes; and these were certainly written as well as oral. Upon this point he thus expresses himself: "What is found in the writings of the Egyptian priests I shall note down, after having carefully examined it⁵. This testimony is so decisive that it only leaves one alternative, namely, that Diodorus either had access to the *writings* of the Egyptian priests, or stands convicted of a falsehood. There appear no grounds for the latter supposition. He may occasionally have erred in chronology, and other matters, but no one has yet accused him of intentional misstatements. A very natural objection, however, and which almost forces itself upon our attention, is, that Diodorus was unacquainted with the Egyptian language, and could not understand hieroglyphic writing.—But does it not seem very probable that there were Greek translations, or extracts, prepared by the priests for the use of Greek travellers who visited their country? When, indeed, we consider the number of Greeks who visited Egypt, this appears the more necessary; and should any one still think

⁵ DIODORUS, i. p. 80. *αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς κατὰ Αἴγυπτον ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς γεγραμμένα φιλοτίμως ἐξητακότες ἐκθυσόμεθα. Quæ a sacerdotibus Egypti in commentarios relata persequute examinavimus, ea nunc exponemus*, according to WESSELYNG's translation. Compare i. p. 36, where he, in stating the number of population and towns, expressly quotes the numbers of the commentaries of the priests.

it unlikely, let him call to mind that this had actually been done, two centuries previous to the time of Diodorus, at Heliopolis, by the high priest Manetho, who had drawn up in Greek, from the archives of the priests, not a mere abstract, but a continuous history of Egypt⁶. This conjecture is strengthened by the expression of Diodorus, who does not call the writings of the priests here mentioned, there *sacred* writings, as he is accustomed to do elsewhere⁷, but simply their writings. I considered it a duty to quote this passage, but with regard to the question itself, I must leave it, as it is so totally a matter of conjecture, to the judgment of the reader. We may decide, however, upon satisfactory evidence, that Diodorus made use of the annals of the priests in compiling his account, and certainly of those of Thebes.

The third source whence Diodorus drew his materials was the writings of the Greeks who had visited Egypt before him: and he has not left us in doubt respecting the writers of whose works he chiefly availed himself. Herodotus was not one of them. He only mentions him with disapprobation⁸, on account of the fables with which he has diversified his narration. The authors by whom he most profited were

⁶ The Greek translation of the inscriptions on the obelisk of Heliopolis, afterwards at Rome in the *Circus Maximus*, may serve as another example; AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, xvii. 4, has preserved it from a manuscript of Hermapion.

⁷ As, for instance, i. p. 53, and often.

⁸ DIODORUS, i. p. 44.

the elder and younger Hecataëus, Cadmus, and Hellanicus. The elder Hecataëus is the same person whose affair with the priests of Thebes is mentioned by Herodotus⁹. He had been in Egypt but a short time before him, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes; and had, either in his geography, or in a separate work, treated of the Egyptians. He was a native of Miletus; and is evidently meant in that passage in which he, with his two countrymen and contemporaries, who had also written upon Egypt, is mentioned as one of the early writers¹⁰. Of the younger Hecataëus, of Abdera, Diodorus speaks in another passage¹¹. He lived about two hundred years later than the elder one, under Ptolemy Lagus, in Egypt, and assuredly at Thebes. He wrote *Ægyptiaca*, of which Diodorus seems to have made free use.—But the accounts of these writers themselves were also drawn from the statements of the priests of Thebes. One great and general result is, therefore, deducible from this: namely, *that the facts recorded by Diodorus relating to Egypt are drawn, either directly or indirectly, from the statements of the priests of Thebes.*

The dynasties of Manetho of Sebennytus, drawn from the archives of the priests above mentioned, have obtained a higher authority within the last ten years than was willingly

⁹ HEROD. ii. 143.

¹⁰ DIODORUS, l. c. Compare Voss. *de Hist. Gr.* p. 441.

¹¹ DIODORUS, i. p. 56.

allowed them previously. The possession of the entire Chronicle of Eusebius in the Armenian version¹², gives us the Fragments of Manetho, found therein, in a more complete and accurate form. They have, however, lately been unexpectedly confirmed by the deciphering of the royal names and titles on the monuments, through the discovery of phonetic hieroglyphics; as a series of the names of the Pharaohs are here traced out, as they are found in the catalogues of Manetho; particularly in his eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, which are highly important in the present inquiry.

By comparing together these three great writers, we are driven to a conclusion which I think worthy of high consideration in the study of Egyptian antiquities. As Herodotus made use of the priestly traditions at Memphis, Diodorus of those at Thebes, and Manetho of those at Heliopolis, it follows that we have, in these three writers, the priestly traditions (under which I also comprise their written accounts) as preserved by that body at the three principal seats of learning in Egypt. It is not therefore extraordinary that some discrepancies should be found amongst them, for which this explanation will satisfactorily account.

These, then, are the written sources from which is derived our knowledge of Egyptian

¹² See above, p. 101, note.

Thebes. And after all, what are they? Poor, indeed, would be the information respecting this state, if their defects were not in some measure supplied by the monuments. It is only through these that we can form a just conception of the magnificence of this ancient royal city; or a general notion of the degree of civilization to which the people had attained who erected them.—These certainly give us no continuous history, in the proper sense of the word; but in connection with the written accounts, to which they form, as it were, a living commentary, they give us an historical view of this ancient state, in its most flourishing period; and to this the present inquiry will be confined. A clear and concise description of these venerable remains, copied from the representations of the French expedition, and the accounts of later travellers, must necessarily form the groundwork of this history¹³; and this I

¹³ Some twenty years ago our knowledge of the monuments of Thebes was but very limited and imperfect. Of the many travellers who visited Egypt, but few reached Upper Egypt, and these few had seldom an opportunity of making extensive inquiries, and still less time and ability to take correct drawings of what they saw. Of the early travellers, Pococke and Noren are almost the only ones who deserve to be mentioned; though their descriptions and drawings were insufficient to give a just idea of the monuments, and the wonders of antiquity. It was the French expedition that first brought us acquainted with Egypt. DENON, in his *Voyage dans la basse et haute Egypte*, Paris, 1802, with the engravings which accompany it, gives us a clear idea of the monuments of Upper Egypt, and of some part of Thebes. This soon drew attention to this country, and the discoveries to be made there could no longer be doubted. Even what, however, Denon has given us was only a foretaste. The immense store of works of art permitted him only to give drawings of a few, and the means

shall intersperse with such historical observations as they may give rise to, or as may be drawn from a comparison of them with such of the above-mentioned materials as still exist.

of a private individual, although favoured by the court, must have limited the number and magnificence of these.

But already had the French government determined to give, by employing the united efforts of artists and men of learning and science, a more complete description and representation both of ancient and modern Egypt, of its monuments, productions, inhabitants, and of its nature in general, than had hitherto been attempted. The first *livraison* of this great work, *Description de l'Égypte*, appeared in 1811. It comprises Upper Egypt, from the southern boundary to Thebes, and is divided (like the following) into three parts: *Antiquités*, *Histoire naturelle*, and *Etat moderne*. The *Antiquités*, which alone come under our notice, are chiefly the monuments of *Philæ*, *Elephantis*, *Essouan*, *Esné*, *Edfu*, *Eilethyia*, and some others of less importance. This was followed, in 1815, by the *second and third livraison*, exclusively devoted to the monuments of ancient Thebes. The engraver has here summoned all his efforts, and endeavoured, as it were, to surpass himself; we have now on 161 sheets (part ii. 92 plates, part iii. 69 plates, some of them larger than ever before passed under a press), the picture of the most ancient royal city of the world. And if the present world must confess that it could no longer execute such works as are here represented, the architects of the ancient world would not behold these representations of their monuments without surprise. About the same time with the great work of the French, appeared the work of my friend and former pupil, WILL. HAMILTON (*Remarks on several parts of Turkey*, vol. i. *Ægyptiaca*. Lond. 1809), the first part of which, with plates, is chiefly dedicated to Upper Egypt and Thebes. Many of the principal plates of the great French work are also given here, though only in outline. It may at once be seen what a great advantage is derived from our being able to compare the descriptions, opinions, and drawings of various travellers of two different nations; and to rectify one by the other. To these may now be added BELZONI'S *Narrative of the Operations and recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia*, Lond. 1821, with a splendid atlas of plates; likewise *The Travels of COUNT MINUTOLI*, Berlin, 1824; a work highly instructive for the antiquities of Thebes, from the scrupulous accuracy of the plates which accompany it, especially of the obelisks of Luxor with their inscriptions. The many smaller travels without plates, I shall not mention.

I. The Monuments.

The locality of ancient Thebes has been so accurately measured and portrayed on so large a scale by the French, as to leave nothing to be desired on this head¹⁴. The whole valley of the Nile in Upper Egypt, offers no spot so fit for the foundation of a large capital. The mountain-chains, the Libyan, on the western, and the other, usually called the Arabian, on the eastern side, retire here to such a distance on either side of the river, that they leave a spacious plain on both banks, whose breadth from west to east amounts to about three leagues and a half (the leagues of two thousand toises), and the length from north to south is about the same. Its extent is reckoned by Strabo at eighty stadia, or eight geographical miles¹⁵, and by Diodorus to one hundred and fifty stadia, or about sixteen miles and a half. Towards the north this plain is again closed in by the near approach of the two mountain-chains to the river: towards the south, on the contrary, where the western chain continues distant from the rivers, it remains open. The plain therefore on which Thebes was built, though limited in extent, was yet sufficient to contain one of the largest cities of the earth. According to Strabo there is no doubt but the ancient city covered the whole plain. Since,

¹⁴ Compare the small plan at the end.

¹⁵ STRABO, p. 1170 ; DIODORUS, i. p. 36.

however, the west bank of the Nile, as far as the foot of the Libyan mountains, is wholly occupied by monuments above ground (here the subterraneous monuments begin), many private houses could not possibly have been built there. This, however, was not the case on the eastern bank. Here the great monuments are found near the river, and the whole plain to the Arabian mountain-chain is left for the town, which, according to Strabo, entirely filled it ¹⁶.

Thebes, therefore, was built on the two banks of the Nile, without being connected, as far as we know, by means of a bridge. A people, whose knowledge of architecture had not attained to the formation of arches, could hardly have constructed a bridge over a river, the breadth of which would even now oppose great obstacles to such an undertaking¹⁷. A survey of the monuments still extant, will be made in the easiest manner, by our taking them on the different sides of the river. The

¹⁶ A remarkable fact respecting ancient Thebes is preserved in STEPH. *de Urb.* under *Διόσπολις*. Before it was devastated by the Persians, it contained, according to Cato, 13000 streets (*κώμας*) and seven millions of inhabitants. It was four hundred stadia in length, and occupied 3700 acres of land. It is difficult to say how Cato comes to be mentioned here; since Stephanus nowhere else quotes a Roman writer. Perhaps the name may be corrupted from *Ἐκάταιος*, who is often quoted by Stephanus, and who had described Thebes. In the statement the careless compiler has confounded the Thebais with Thebes; for others state the number of its inhabitants at seven millions, and not that of the city. DIODORUS, i. p. 36.

¹⁷ The breadth of the river here is from seven hundred to eight hundred toises; it contains many islands, which however are without monuments, and probably of later origin.

greater part, and most considerable of these monuments, are now denominated according to the villages, which are situated in the plain, on both sides of the stream. Thus, on the west side, the villages Medinet Abou and Gornou; on the east Luxor and Karnac, and quite at the north-east end of the valley Med Armuth, which is the extreme point of the ruins that now remain. They are, however, so similar in extent and grandeur, that it is difficult to decide whether those on the west or east side should have the precedence.

II. *Monuments on the western side.*

The monuments on the western bank are of various descriptions. They form an almost uninterrupted series from south to north, all indeed in the neighbourhood of the Libyan mountain-ridge, so that a large plain extends between it and the river, which probably was once filled up with private dwelling houses. In proceeding from south to north we find :

1. The *racecourse*¹⁸. The first object that

¹⁸ Hamilton denies the existence of this racecourse. He regards it only as the bed of an old channel (which is also mentioned by the French); but denies that it could be a racecourse; since in this case it would only be forty yards in breadth and two thousand in length. But the accurate examinations and measurements of the French leave no doubt of its really having existed as such, and the mistake of Hamilton possibly arose from his being unable, on account of the inundations, to examine the locality with accuracy. Is it not probable that Hamilton mistook the *double* enclosures on the west side, which are about forty yards distant from each other, for the enclosure on the *two* sides? He might have been led into this error more easily because only fragments of that on the eastern side is now left.

here catches the eye, is the remains of a large racecourse, at the southern extremity of which stands a small temple ; there is, however, just by, a gate of such vast dimensions, that a much larger building must once have stood here. The racecourse is upwards of six thousand Parisian feet in length, and three thousand in breadth ; its area amounting, according to the French calculation, to seven times as much as the *Champ de Mars* near Paris (624,380 square toises) ; and consequently afforded ample space for the exercise and review of a large army. The whole was surrounded by an enclosure which forms at present nothing more than a series of hills, among which the gates or inlets may still be distinguished, of which there are reckoned thirty-nine, though their number perhaps altogether amounted to fifty. The principal entrance, where a large opening is left, faces the east, and the general appearance of the enclosure shows that at one time it was embellished with stately edifices, composed of triumphal monuments. Probably this spacious plain was situated just without the city ; a similar one, of smaller dimensions, is found on the east side, nearly opposite to this ; and, if both were situated without the city, we may with great probability determine the southern boundary of the city. These places were most likely intended for prize contentions, particularly chariot courses, and also for assembling and exercising the troops, who, under a Sesos-

tris and other conquerors, started from this place on their route, and returned here in triumph after a victory had been gained.

2. The racecourse is followed towards the north by the antiquities of Medinet Abou running along the border of a small sandy tract, which blends with the Libyan mountain-chain. Proceeding from south to north, I comprise under this division: *a.* a palace and temple directly at the northern end of the racecourse: *b.* the colossus of Memnon, together with others near it; and the remains of a building which appears to be the Memnonium of Strabo: *c.* the palace and tomb of Osymandyas, frequently called Memnonium. All these monuments lie nearly at the foot of the Libyan ridge, about one thousand five hundred toises from the Nile.

First, the *palace*, a *pavilion* connected with it, and the *temple*. It is highly interesting to meet in this place with buildings, whose structure clearly shows that they were not proper temples, but merely dwellings most probably occupied by the king. The pavilion is a building of two stories, containing many saloons and apartments, and numerous windows. The situation is so well chosen, that it commands a view not only of all the monuments of Medinet Abou, but also of those on the other side of the Nile, and of the whole plain in which Thebes was built. Every thing, even the decorations which cover the walls, seem to indicate that this was the usual residence of the king. The subjects repre-

sented, differ from those in the temples, as they are intermingled with scenes of domestic life. This edifice is unfortunately a good deal injured, but the upper story is the part best preserved.

About two hundred and fifty feet north-west of this pavilion is situated the great palace of Medinet Abou. Its entrance is formed by one of those mighty superstructures, which, unknown to our architecture, are comprised by the French under the name of pylones; the Greeks call them *propylæa*. They consist of two obtuse pyramids (in this instance sixty-six feet high), which enclose between them the principal gate, forming the grand entrance. This leads into a large court, which is surrounded by galleries formed on one side by eight great pillars, and on the other by pilasters, to which colossal statues of Osiris are fixed as caryatides, but not so as to give any support. The sight of these colossal pilaster-caryatides, excites in the beholder, as we are assured by eyewitnesses, an indescribable feeling of awe and veneration.

Opposite to the principal entrance stands a second pylone, though on a somewhat smaller scale. It leads into a second court of pillars, or peristyle, the galleries of which are likewise formed by pilasters, with caryatides and columns. "Of all the parts of this building, this peristyle is, we are told by an eyewitness, the most imposing, by its tremendous massiveness and solemn grandeur. We are convinced that its founders wished to make it imperishable, and that the

Egyptian architects who were entrusted with its structure, did their utmost to make it endure to the latest posterity. The pillars are certainly not remarkably elegant, but they are colossal; their diameter near the base is nearly seven feet and a half, and they are nearly twenty feet high, yet they do not seem too large to support the immense stone blocks which form the architraves and roof. Nothing is more astonishing than the beauty of these tall columns. The effect, however, of this peristyle is greatly increased by the pilaster-caryatides, which add so greatly to its magnificence. It was impossible for the Egyptian not to sink into a religious awe at the sight of this assembly of gods, who seem to dictate the laws of wisdom, of justice, which are everywhere written on the walls. When the Egyptian artists affixed the images of these gods to these pilasters, which support the splendid roof, covered with golden stars on blue ground, do they not seem to have intended to represent the deity himself under the arch of heaven, expanding in his space? And if we, unacquainted with the religion and manners of the Egyptians, could not enter these halls, in which every pillar is a deity, without emotion, what a powerful impression must the sight of them have produced upon those who saw a religious mystery in every part." I have quoted this passage, because the expression of feeling which these monuments produced on the traveller, is more likely to inspire the imagination of the reader with a correct notion

of them, than a simple account of lifeless masses. The back or northern part of the palace lies chiefly in ruins ; but many apartments are still to be seen that seem to have served as habitations, of which, however, any farther description would be unintelligible without a plan.

A still more remarkable object is the sculpture of this palace both within and without. That without is of an historical kind ; scenes of war, and battles by land and sea. There are several representations of land engagements, in which the Egyptians are victorious. The chief or king always appears on his war-chariot, of a colossal size, armed with a lance, bow and arrows ; and his missiles carry death into the ranks of his enemies. The Egyptians are partly engaged in fighting, and partly in arraying their forces, sometimes two and sometimes four men deep. The same figure of the king again appears, now driving slowly along, now stopping, and now forcing his way into the midst of the enemy. Another piece represents a lion hunt. He pursues, still standing in his chariot, two lions through the thicket ; one of them is already killed ; the other is flying, pierced by four arrows. But the most remarkable of these pictures is the naval engagement. It represents the enemy repulsed in endeavouring to effect a landing ; and the victory seems decided for the Egyptians. The king is standing on the shore ; discharging missiles at the enemy, many of whom lie slain under his feet, and

others before him. Two squadrons are contending near the coast. The construction of the Egyptian vessels is quite different from that of the Nile-boats, as they have always a lion's head at the prow ; they are very properly called long ships. Those of the enemy are nearly of the same construction. The battle still continues, though apparently decided. The ships of the enemy are evidently in confusion ; partly taken or sunk, and partly ready to strike. Even the traces of naval tactics are visible. The hostile fleet is surrounded by the Egyptians, and there is no chance of a single ship escaping. In all these warlike subjects the several nations are most accurately distinguished by their costume, headdress, and accoutrements. In the land battles the soldiers of the hostile army are invariably portrayed with beards and long garments. In the naval engagements, on the contrary, their clothing is short and light, the head-covering of one portion consists of a sort of round turban, ornamented at the top with a wreath of feathers, the others wear a helmet, seemingly made of the skin of a wild beast ¹⁹. It is not to be denied, that they are a southern people, and the inhabitants of a hot climate ; the French artists recognised them at once as Indians. This difference of costume is also very accurately observed in the succeeding representations. Since, however, a great part

¹⁹ See the engravings of these battles, part ii. plate x.

of the building is in ruins, those representations can be but partly preserved, and our drawings of them are consequently very imperfect ²⁰.

Of a different, though somewhat similar nature, is the sculpture in the interior of the palace. The subjects represented are triumphs, closely connected however with religion, for the procession is not only directed to the gods, but the deities themselves take part in it. The most considerable of these reliefs are found in the peristyle above described. On one wall the victorious king (distinguishable as such by the serpent in his headdress) sits in his chariot. The steeds, decorated with splendid trappings, are held and managed by his attendants; he himself is standing in a commanding attitude; the prisoners of war are led before him. They advance four rows deep, every third or fourth being led by an Egyptian. They are dressed in blue and green cloaks, under which they wear a short covering round the middle. The Egyptians wear white garments with red stripes; all the colours are in high preservation. The prisoners are unarmed, their weapons are tied above their heads. In the forepart of the chariot of the conqueror a heap of amputated hands are lying, seemingly of the persons killed in battle; the prisoners are not mutilated ²¹.

²⁰ This is especially the case with the greatest part of the engagements on land, and, what is most to be lamented, with the warriors, who are present in the hunting piece, whose very different accoutrements and dress are only described. *Descript.* i. p. 54.

²¹ See part ii. plate xviii.

On the northern wall of this same peristyle is portrayed a triumphal procession. The king, seated on his throne, is borne on a rich palanquin by eight soldiers. They are decorated with feathers, the emblem of victory. The throne is covered with splendid carpets; the feet of the conqueror rest on a cushion. He carries in his hand the cross and keys, the attributes of consecration, two genii stand behind and shadow him with their wings. The lion, the sparrow-hawk, the serpent, and the sphynx, emblems of greatness, are on his side. The procession consists partly of warriors ornamented with palms and feathers, partly of priests who offer incense. Another seems to recite from a roll the deeds of the victor. The procession moves towards the temple of Osiris, whose statue is visible. Four priests come to meet and receive the hero, and to lead him into the temple, where he presents his offerings.

The train then proceeds, and the god himself, leaving his holy habitation, accompanies the king, surrounded by every species of festive pomp; twenty-four priests bear him on a kind of carriage. They are enrobed in long stately cloaks. At the head is the conqueror, in a different habit and headdress. The sparrow-hawk hovers over him; the sacred bull follows in the train. Seventeen priests, bearing the attributes of the deity, march first in the procession, the whole of which is now evidently

changed into a religious pageant. It is not the warriors but the priests who perform the principal characters. The scene again changes; the king appears presenting an offering to the gods. It is worthy of remark, that this scene apparently relates to agriculture. A priest presents a handful of corn to the king, which he cuts through with a sickle; and afterwards he offers his gifts to the god. Is it not probable that this scene should be separated altogether from the former; and does it not seem to represent the king protecting the arts of peace; as the former portray him in the splendour of warlike achievements? If these pictures had been perfectly preserved, probably every thing would have appeared clear and intelligible.

The sculpture in one of the side rooms is equally deserving of our attention. It represents, in three divisions, the initiation of the king into the priestly mysteries. He is first purified by some of the priests; others then take him by the hand, and lead him into the sanctuary. All here is mysterious. The priests nearly all appear in masks of beasts²².

The French literati believed that all this represented the deeds of Sesostris, and they certainly were right, if we may judge from the result of their researches. I shall again return to this subject.

²² See part ii. plate xiii.

At some distance to the north-west of this palace stands the temple of Medinet Abou. It faces the Nile, and has *propylæa*, in an unfinished state, which are also of later date than the chief temple. It lies for the most part in ruins, but its construction is similar to that of the other temples.

North-west of this temple follows a plain, partly covered with a mimosa-wood, which may be called *the field of Colossi*. Seventeen of these are counted upon this spot, some of which are still standing, while others are in part or altogether thrown down. Among them is the celebrated colossus of Memnon, famous for the sounds issuing from it at the rising of the sun.

The first objects that strike the attention are two colossi close together; the northern one is now called Damy, and the southern Shamy; they both face the Nile. They are of sandstone, about fifty-two feet high, or sixty with the pedestal. The weight of each when entire is calculated at 2,612,000 lbs. The one to the south is formed of one entire piece; the upper half of the other is now composed of five pieces. As colossi were formerly monoliths among the Egyptians, it can hardly be doubted but that this was originally the case here. This statue, as we learn from the many inscriptions with which it is covered (chiefly of the first two centuries), was regarded as that of Memnon, as these inscriptions testify that their authors

had heard the voice of the statue²³. Doubts, nevertheless, have been raised against this, originating partly from the quality and colour of the stone, and partly from the circumstance mentioned by Strabo²⁴, that the colossus was broken through in the middle, as it is also described by Pausanias²⁵; and because the time of its restoration is unknown. But these objections are of no great weight. The stone has been proved, by the examination of the French, to be sandstone, though now become black from the effect of the atmosphere; and though the *restorer* of the statue is unknown to us, nothing can be argued from that, because the fact itself shows that it has been restored. As a matter of conjecture, we may suppose this restoration to have taken place in the time of Septimius Severus, who restored and repaired various things in Egypt.

At a moderate distance to the north-west of this colossus are found two immense stone blocks, covered with the most beautiful hiero-

²³ Pococke and Norden differ respecting the statue of Memnon; the former (ii. p. 101) takes it to be the colossus here described; Norden (vol. ii. p. 128, ed. Langlès) another, which is broken in the middle, and standing before the temple of Osymandyas. The late Count Veltleim has endeavoured to defend the opinion of Norden, see *Antiquarische Aufsätze*, Th. ii. p. 69, but in my opinion upon insufficient grounds. The inscriptions on the colossus mentioned by Pococke clearly prove, that it was considered *at that time* as the colossus of Memnon. And is it probable that tradition, without any necessity, should have transferred it from one to the other? Pococke's opinion is confirmed also by LANGLÈS, in *Dissertation sur la Statue de Memnon*, an appendix to his edition of Norden.

²⁴ STRABO, p. 1170.

²⁵ PAUSAN. i. p. 101.

glyphics, which probably were nothing more than the pedestals of two other colossi. A little north of these, close to a triple row of pillars, is a large fragment of a colossal statue in a walking attitude, above thirty feet high; and a little farther, the trunk of another of black granite. Still farther, we come to the remnant of a colossus of yellow marble, represented as if walking, and a little in advance the remains of two sitting colossi of red granite; and, beyond them, two others, forty feet high, in a walking position. And since it has been proved that the level of the earth has been raised, at least fifteen or twenty feet, since the commencement of our era, how many others may still lie thrown down, or broken beneath the surface of the earth?

It will naturally be asked, how this number of colossi came here together in this seeming disorder? The nature of the spot, the various fragments of pillars, etc., lead at once to the conjecture, that at some time an immense building must have stood here, which, with its pylones and courts, colonnades and saloons, could have been nothing short of eighteen hundred feet in length. The colossal statues may have stood before the pylones, before the entrances to the courts and portico, as is still the case in the palace of Osymandyas and others. It was, as far as we can judge, contrary to the general custom of the Egyptians, to place them anywhere except before, or in the interior of their edifices.

With regard to sphinxes, which formed avenues, it is different. This opinion is moreover confirmed by the fact, that both Strabo and Pliny place the colossus of Memnon in a building called by the former the Memnonium²⁶, and by Pliny the Serapeum²⁷. Philostratus, also, in his life of Apollonius²⁸, compares the sanctuary (τὸ τέμενος) of Memnon with a forum, decorated with pillars, walls, seats, and statues, which remind us of the great colonnades and halls of columns of the temples. If, however, on the one hand, the enormous dimensions of an edifice that would contain such colossi inspire us with wonder, it seems, on the other, not less surprising, that so few remains of it are now left. This difficulty, however, disappears if we suppose it to have been built of limestone; for the old materials of such have always been used for lime. The number of these buildings in Egypt must have been very great, as the immense excavations in the limestone rocks very plainly show. In the neighbourhood of these colossi the remains of an old structure, built of this stone, are still preserved.

Belzoni has lately confirmed this assertion. "I found," he says²⁹, "a great many fragments of colossal statues of granite, breccia, and cal-

²⁶ STRABO, p. 1170.

²⁷ PLIN. xxxiv. 8.

²⁸ PHILOSTR. *Op.* p. 773.

²⁹ *Narrative*, p. 292, 293. Belzoni is not learned, but very minute and accurate.

careous stones ; and from the great number of fragments of smaller dimensions, and of standing and sitting lion-headed statues, I can boldly state, that these ruins appear to me to have belonged to the most magnificent temple of any on the western side of Thebes."

Still farther north of the field of colossi is a building, which modern travellers, particularly Norden, commonly called the *Memnonium*³⁰,—more correctly, however, *the palace and tomb of Osymandyas*. The ruins of this building, facing the Nile, are the most picturesque of ancient Thebes. The building is composed of sandstone. Many pylones, columns, and pillars with caryatides, are yet standing, whilst ruins of others, and of colossi, form large heaps around. After passing through a majestic pylone, is a quadrangle, above one hundred and forty feet in length, and one hundred and sixty-one in breadth. It is all in ruins except two pillars, but the area is so filled up with blocks of granite, that a person might fancy himself in a stone quarry ; nevertheless, on a closer inspection, they are found to be merely the ruins of one immense colossus. It has been destroyed by violence, but the head, foot, and hand still remain. The fore-finger is

³⁰ To prevent confusion in the topography of Thebes, it must be observed, that Norden and other travellers give the name *Memnonium*, or palace of Memnon, to that building which is more correctly called the palace of Osymandyas. Pococke applied it to the palace of Medinet-Abou. Hamilton did the same, p. 137. The ruined building, to which the statue of Memnon belonged, and which is called the *Memnomium* by Strabo, lay between the two. The plan will explain all difficulties.

nearly four feet in length; the breadth from one shoulder to the other, in a straight line, is twenty-one feet. The height of the whole could not have been less than fifty-four feet. The pedestal, eighteen feet high, is still standing close to the pylone opposite. Both pedestal and colossus were of the most beautiful rose-coloured granite of Syene. The pit from which it was cut out is clearly seen, near that city, and thence it must have been transported forty-five leagues, notwithstanding it weighed nearly nine hundred tons. Inquiries made on the spot have proved that this building contained four such colossi, of which one of granite seems to have stood near the one described.

A second pylone, somewhat lower, forms the entrance to a peristyle, which is also one hundred and forty feet in length, and one hundred and sixty in breadth. It was surrounded by galleries, formed in the north and south by a double row of pillars, in the east by a single row of pilaster-caryatides, and in the west by one row of pillars, and another of pilaster-caryatides. The southern part is decayed, but the northern is sufficiently preserved to enable us to form a correct notion of the whole. This peristyle contained two colossal statues, each about twenty-three feet. One is entirely of black granite, the body of the other is also black, but the head of rose-coloured granite. This head is well preserved. "It possesses that graceful calmness, that happy physiognomy, which pleases more

than beauty. It would be impossible to represent the deity with features which could make him more beloved and revered. The execution is admirable, and it might be taken for the production of the best age of Grecian art did it not bear so evidently the Egyptian character ³¹."

Out of the peristyle three gates of black granite open into a spacious saloon, the roof of which was supported by sixty pillars in ten rows, each six pillars deep; four of these rows are still standing. The saloon was divided into three compartments, and we may form some idea of the awful extent of the whole by knowing, that the pillars of the middle division (the others are a little smaller) are thirty-five feet high, and above six feet in diameter. Out of this large saloon there is an entrance into a second, and afterwards into a third. In each are eight pillars of the same size still standing.

Such are the remains of this immense building, which, nevertheless, from the traces still visible, must have been much larger. But however it may excite our astonishment as a monument of architecture, it is not less admirable on account of the sculpture with which its walls are covered. These consist partly of sacred pictures with hieroglyphics, partly of historical reliefs. The former, as usual, represent deities, with sacrifices and offerings made to them; but the latter deserve and demand a more accurate

³¹ *Description*, i. p. 129.

description. What reason we have to regret that so small a part of them, as well as of the whole building, should have been preserved!

The first of these reliefs is found on the inner side of the first of the two great pylones. It is a battle piece³². The infantry, in close columns, advance with their leader, of a larger size, in his chariot, at their head. The heat of the battle is next portrayed: the leaders, in their chariots, driving into the midst of the enemy; the slain, the wounded, and the flying with their steeds. In the centre of the field of strife is a river, into which those, making their escape, leap, whilst their party stand on the opposite shore ready to receive them.

On the left side of the pylone, the chief hero sits on a beautifully decorated chair, resting his feet on a stool, on which prisoners are represented. The cushions of the seat and stool are covered with the finest stuff, dotted with stars. A column of twenty-one figures in long garments approach him with supplication and reverence. These are closely followed by chariots and warriors, with large shields. The army to which they belong is in the rear, consisting of infantry, and chariots with one soldier in each. Next follows the baggage, which, though attacked by the enemy, is bravely defended³³.

³² See *Description d'Egypte*, p. 129, and plate xxxii. vol. ii.

³³ The last reliefs are only described, *Description*, p. 122, 123, but not engraved.

Scenes equally remarkable are portrayed on the walls of the peristyle. Here is another battle piece. It seems like a hostile invasion, which is repelled. A river, with its many windings, traverses the field. Remains of the blue colour with which it was painted are still seen in many places. It flows round a castle, the object of contention on both its banks. The possessors of the castle are crossing the river. They have long beards, and garments, and war-chariots, with three men in each. The Egyptians, on the opposite side, partly on foot, and partly in chariots, are led on by their king; they are divided into different bodies, each with a separate commander, known by being taller, at their head. They beat down all before them; and trample on the dead and wounded. Many of the enemy in their retreat are drowned in attempting to recross the river; they are pursued by the victors ³⁴.

On the walls of the large hall is represented the storming and taking of a fortress. (Probably a continuation of the foregoing subject.) At the foot of the walls is a kind of *testudo* formed of large shields. Behind, or under it, are the warriors, of whom only the feet are visible. A scaling-ladder is fixed, which soldiers are climbing up. Of the four stories of the fort, the first is already scaled. The struggle is hotly con-

³⁴ A few chariots only have been given in the drawing of this relief. Plate xxxii. vol. ii.

tinued: the besieged hurl down stones and burning substances. The issue, however, is no longer doubtful; and the banner hoisted up, pierced through with arrows, is probably the signal of surrender³⁵. If the remaining part of the palace were still standing, it is most likely that there would still be found the triumphal procession of the victor; and if this palace be that of Osymandyas, described by Diodorus, the yet more interesting scene, the high court of justice of Egypt, with the chief judge presiding, with the symbol of truth upon his breast. More of this hereafter.

The French think they have recovered this monument, in these buildings, which have by others—misled by a false reading in the text of Diodorus³⁶—been frequently taken for that of Memnonium. The view of the former is supported by the statement of Diodorus, that ten stadia distant were the tombs containing the bodies of the virgins devoted to Ammon. Tombs, in fact, are found at this distance, which agree very well with this statement, and have not the

³⁵ A part of this relief is given in plate xxxi. The action of one of these warriors is very expressive; he himself breaks his arrow across his knees.

³⁶ The passage in which it is said, there stood three colossi at the entrance: *ἐξ ἐνὸς τοῦς πάντας λίθου Μέμνωνος τοῦ Συηνίτου*. Wesseling has shown that Memnon must not stand here, and, according to him, the passage is thus: *ἐξ ἐνὸς τοῦς πάντας λίθου τεμνυμένους τοῦ Συηνίτου*.—"Three colossi, each hewn out of one piece of stone of Syene." It therefore is unquestionable that Diodorus took this building for the Memnonium.

appearance of private buildings³⁷. The proofs which are deduced from the plan and dimensions of the edifice have still more weight, if the reader is not so unreasonable as to expect geometrical accuracy. The measure of the pylones, the courts and halls of columns, agree pretty well, though not exactly, with the statements of Diodorus. The plan of the building, also, so far as it can be traced from what is still remaining, answers very nearly to the description of Diodorus; nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the other half, which consisted precisely of the most interesting parts,—of the hall of justice, the library (either a collection of the sacred writings, or an archive in the Egyptian sense of the word), and of the tomb itself,—is either completely scattered, or in ruins. There is also the farther coincidence, that this colossus is in effect what Diodorus calls it, namely, the *largest* of all the Egyptian statues. Finally, the reliefs, which Diodorus describes (to which I shall again refer), seem also to confirm this opinion; as they certainly agree very well upon the whole with Diodorus's description, though discrepancies arise here and there in particulars.

A modern French critic, M. Letronne³⁸, would

³⁷ Respecting the women sacrificed to Ammon, the principal passage is found in STRABO, 1171. They were Hierodules, who were however afterwards allowed to marry.

³⁸ In the *Journal des Savans*, Juillet, 1822. But it has been contradicted by GAILL, in the *Philologue*, vol. xiii. To invent monuments would indeed have been a very superfluous occupation for the Egyptian priests.

set aside the evidence, brought forward by M. Jollois and Devilliers³⁹, to prove the identity of the palace yet partly existing, and that described by Diodorus, chiefly because some of the measurements do not agree with his statements; and because the stone of the pylones is not of the same kind. But the latter is not technically defined by Diodorus; and, with regard to the measure, how can such accuracy be expected in a building lying in ruins? Besides, did Diodorus himself measure it? Or did he not rather give the measurements from what he was told, or from what he had read in earlier descriptions, especially that of Hecataeus? M. Letronne, however, goes still farther, and takes the building altogether, described by Diodorus, for a fiction of the poets; because Diodorus had not seen it himself, but borrowed his description from the statements of priests, and earlier Greek writers. It is very true that Diodorus refers to the accounts of the priests, and certainly to written accounts, but he nowhere hints that he had not seen the monument himself; on the contrary, he says that these accounts agree with his relation⁴⁰: he cites them, therefore, as confirming his own statements.

No king Osymandyas is mentioned either by Herodotus or Manetho, neither has the name been yet discovered in any inscription; but the

³⁹ *Description d'Egypte*, i. p. 121, etc., in *Description generale de Thebes*.

⁴⁰ DIODORUS, i. p. 56.

royal legend of Sesostris, or Ramasses the Great, is everywhere displayed on the monuments ascribed to him. The subjects, likewise, of all the reliefs—the battles, triumphs, etc.—constantly refer to him. Even the lion, which is said to have attended him, is seen on his war-chariot as an ornament. And to whom will the inscription quoted by Diodorus, “I am Osymandyas, the king of kings. He who wishes to know how great I was, and where I rest, let him surpass my works”—so well apply as to the greatest architect of Egypt? It is, therefore, difficult to suppress the conjecture, that this great monument, or at least its principal parts, was the work of Sesostris. Perhaps Osymandyas was a surname of the great Ramasses, as the name of Sesostris was; or it might be his name as a hero. It would not be difficult to offer many other conjectures upon the subject, but I leave them to future commentators. But that *his* deeds are represented here is in the highest degree probable, even though a part of the building should belong to a period prior to his. The proofs, however, that might arise from going into a minute comparison of the sculptures with the description of Diodorus, it is impossible to give at present, because very few sculptures are engraved in the great work on Egypt; and we have nothing except the accounts of the French that will here avail us.

The space between these immense edifices and the Libyan mountain-chain is not destitute

of monuments. The *temple of Isis* stands between them, and, though much smaller, it is highly deserving of attention, from its fine preservation. In this may be seen, in its fullest splendour, the effect of the colours with which the reliefs are washed over. The more confined dimensions of the building, likewise, enable the beholder to see the whole at one glance, by which he is better able to judge of the impression made by these embellishments. "We may here be convinced, that this alliance of sculpture and painting, which perhaps may seem ridiculous, has nothing repugnant at the first glance. The eye rather dwells upon the effects they produce, and looks for them"⁴¹. All the reliefs refer to religious subjects. The most remarkable among them is a *judgment upon the dead*, exactly as it is painted upon the mummies, which I have already explained⁴². It seems, therefore, very probable that this temple likewise served as a sepulchre.

In quitting this monument, and the palace of Osymandyas, and going towards the north, the traveller finds himself in the midst of an alley of pedestals, sometimes interrupted, but immediately afterwards renewed. A more accurate examination has shown that this was formerly an alley of sphinxes, two hundred in number, and all of a colossal size, the pedestals being six feet wide and twelve feet long. The breadth of

⁴¹ *Descript.* p. 164.

⁴² See above, p. 198.

the alley runs to forty feet ; the distance of the statues from each other is seven feet. What must the building have been to which such an alley could lead ? Immense ruins of pylones, of walls, and of steps are met with ; but nothing entire ⁴³. There is a remarkable stone vault, in the form of an arch, without, as has been proved by a close examination, being one : it farther confirms the fact, that the Egyptians were wholly unacquainted with the principles of the arch.

There still remains an edifice on this side of the Nile belonging to Thebes ; it lies at the extreme north-west, near the village of Gornou, after which it is named. The *palace of Gornou* ⁴⁴ is not one of the largest or most splendid of this old royal city ; nevertheless, it is by far too large to suffer the idea to be entertained, that it was the dwelling of a private individual. It has a higher claim to our attention, because, being certainly no temple, it seems, as it were, to stand half way between those imperial palaces and private dwellings. Neither sphinxes nor obelisks, neither stupendous pylones nor colonnades are here met with. The whole seems calculated for habitation. Though not colossal, it must still be considered as large. A portico, one hundred and fifty feet long, supported by ten columns, forms the principal entrance, and

⁴³ *Descript.* p. 175.

⁴⁴ El Gornou is in HAMILTON, p. 175, the name of the district ; the village is called by him El Ebek.

is still almost entire. From the portico three doors leads into the interior of the building. The more central and principal door opens into a vestibule, supported by six pillars, and from this passages run off into many chambers and offices. The door to the left, in the portico, leads likewise into a saloon, and this again into many chambers, with courts and cabinets on the side. The same seems to have been the case in passing through the door to the right, but every thing here is much dilapidated; so that the whole building appears to have consisted of three independent divisions, which were nevertheless connected by opening into the great portico in front. This building is besides remarkable from having neither religious nor historical scenes pictured on its walls⁴⁵. It seems upon the whole very likely that if it were not the residence of a king, it was that of some grandee of the kingdom.

II. *Monuments on the eastern side of the Nile.*

From the western bank of the river, let us now cross over to the eastern, which will be found equally rich in these stupendous monu-

⁴⁵ [I cannot very well reconcile this with what is said by DR. RICHARDSON, as quoted in the *Modern Traveller*, vol. vi. p. 86. "Hence this building has by some travellers been called a palace; but it is ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics in the same manner as the other temples; and from the frequent occurrence of the ram's head upon the walls, both among the sculptures and the hieroglyphics, it would appear that Jupiter Ammon was the principal object of worship in this, as well as in the great temples." *Trans.*]

ments. On this side, however, they are situated partly close to the Nile, and partly at some, though less distance from it than on the western bank; so that between the river and the eastern mountain-chain, a wide, almost wholly uncultivated plain extends, nearly five miles square, which, according to a conjecture already given, was probably once covered with private habitations, and formed a part of the ancient city. The monuments which are still left are named after the villages Luxor (the *El Aqseir* of the French, and the *El Qhussr* of Hamilton) and Karnac; the former to the south and the latter to the north: I shall, as before, begin with the southern.

The ruins of Luxor are situated, as well as the other monuments, upon an artificial elevation, fenced with brickwork, from nine to ten feet high, immediately upon the Nile; it is upwards of two thousand feet in length, and above a thousand in breadth. The more northern portion is partly covered with the village of Luxor; the southern part is more open; nevertheless it is on the northern side that the great entrance to the principal buildings is found. The front of this is adorned with two of the most beautiful obelisks in the world; they are of red granite, and above eighty feet high. Their upper surface is not completely flat, but a little convex, evidently formed so designedly, and probably on account of the effect of light: because it is a principle in optics, that a completely flat surface does not appear such. Upon other obe-

lisks this is not found to have been considered; and probably from this might be deduced their relative ages.

Behind the obelisks are discovered two sitting colossal statues, each upon a block of black and red granite of Syene. They are half buried, and have been broken by violence. They are each forty feet high. Their headdress has many peculiarities. They also have collars. Hamilton conjectures them to be male and female. It is highly probably that two similar colossi stood in the interior; as the head of one has been discovered.

Close behind these two statues is one of those immense pylones, with its two pyramidic masses, two and fifty feet in height, enclosing the principal gate. This pylone is highly deserving of attention, both on account of its size, and its ornaments. Both wings are covered with sculpture, representing scenes of war. On the eastern is seen a number of warriors in their chariots, each drawn by two horses. They rush over a river or canal, in pursuit of the flying enemy. The king, mounted in his car, is at their head, with a bow in his hand. Higher up is discovered a camp and tents. Upon the left wing the king is seen seated in his car, mustering the bound captives. Near to this is portrayed a triumphal procession, with offerings and gifts presented to the gods.

Of all the great historical reliefs there is perhaps no one so much deserving attention as

this, on account of the expression and execution⁴⁶. “The moment chosen for the representation of the battle is that when the troops of the enemy are driven back upon their fortress, and the Egyptians in the full career of victory will soon be masters of the citadel.”

“The conqueror, behind whom is borne aloft the royal standard, is of a colossal size, that is, far larger than all the other warriors, standing up in a car drawn by two horses. He is in the act of shooting an arrow from a bow, which is full stretched. There is a great deal of life and spirit in the form and attitude of the horses, which are in full gallop, feathers waving over their heads, and the reins lashed round the body of the conqueror. Under the wheels of the car, and under the horses’ hoofs and bellies, are crowds of dying and slain; some stretched on the ground, others falling. On the enemy’s side, horses in full speed with empty cars; others heedless of the rein; and all at last rushing headlong down a precipice, into a broad and deep river, which washes the walls of the town. The expression is exceedingly good, and nowhere has the artist shown more skill than in two groups; in one of which the horses, arrived at the verge of the precipice, instantly fall down; and the driver, clinging with one hand to the car, the reins and whip falling from the other, his body, trembling with de-

⁴⁶ HAMILTON, p. 115, sqq.

spair, is about to be hurled over the backs of the horses. In the other, the horses still find a footing on the side of the hill, and are hurrying forward their drivers to inevitable destruction. Behind this scene of strife, the two lines of the enemy join their forces, and attack, in a body, the army of the Egyptians, which advances to meet them in a regular line. Besides the peculiarities of the incidents recorded in this interesting piece of sculpture, we evidently traced a distinction between the short dresses of the Egyptians, and the long robes of their Oriental enemies; the uncovered and covered heads; the different forms of the cars, of which the Egyptian contain two, the others three warriors; and above all, the difference of the arms, the Egyptian shield being square at one end and round at the other; their arms a bow and arrows. The enemy's shield, on the contrary, is round; their infantry are armed with spears, their charioteers with short javelins."

"At one extremity of the west wing of the gateway, the beginning of this engagement appears to be represented; the same monarch being seen at the head of his troops advancing against the double line of the enemy; and first breaking their ranks. At the other extremity of the same wing, the conqueror is seated on his throne after the victory, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and enjoying the cruel spectacle of eleven of the principal chieftains among

his captives, lashed together in a row, with a rope about their necks; the foremost stretches out his arms for pity: close to him is the twelfth on his knees, just going to be put to death by the hands of two executioners. Above them is the captive sovereign, tied, with his hands behind him, to a car, to which two horses are harnessed; these are checked from rushing onward by an attendant, till the monarch shall mount and drag behind him the unfortunate victim of his triumphs. There is then the conqueror's camp, round which are placed his treasures, and where the servants are preparing a banquet to celebrate his victory."

Through the grand entrance the traveller enters an immense colonnade surrounded with galleries. This is now occupied by the village of Luxor; and the earth is so raised, that the columns, and a colossal statue do but just jut out above it. A second pylone leads into a second colonnade, and this into many saloons and apartments, which cannot be understood without a plan. Some idea of the magnitude of this edifice may be formed from the fact, that each of the forty columns in the second colonnade is five and forty feet high. It will be more interesting than a dry description of particulars, to observe that the great palace of Luxor is not built after one single plan. The whole of this immense pile is divided into three parts, which have different sites. The hinder part of the fabric (the great hall of granite and

the buildings which surround it) was perhaps built first. At a later period some one erected the second colonnade. A still more magnificent monarch added the first great colonnade with the pylones, obelisks, and colossal statues; if these latter were not the work of a fourth. It is only remarkable why the site of these parts of the building should have been changed without necessity. It seems, however, to be explained by the situation of the buildings of Luxor opposite those of Karnac, with which they were placed in connection.

About six thousand one hundred feet south of these ruins are discovered the traces of the smaller racecourse, already mentioned, so that the eastern part of the city possessed one as well as the western, though probably both were without its boundaries.

But we still have to contemplate the largest, and, in the judgment of connoisseurs, the most remarkable monuments of ancient Thebes⁴⁷, those of Karnac. These lie at about a mile and a half or two miles north of Luxor; and about a mile from the Nile. Like the others they are built upon an artificial elevation, fenced by a wall of brickwork. The walls of Karnac are nearly two thousand five hundred toises in extent; it takes an hour and a half to walk round them. The monuments of Karnac consist of numerous massive piles of various kinds; among

⁴⁷ Of this opinion are the French. But according to HAMILTON, p. 133, those on the west side seemed to be still larger.

which, on arriving from Luxor, the immense palace of Karnac first presents itself⁴⁸. The façade of this prodigious fabric looks towards the river, from which there is an avenue of colossal crio-sphinxes (that is with a ram's head and lion's body) leading to it. Some of these colossi still remain; they lie with their fore-legs stretched out before them. This magnificent avenue leads to the great pylone with the principal entrance, the length of which is fifty-six toises, and the height three and twenty, but which seems never to have been fully completed. The great principal entrance was above ten toises high, and had formerly bronze doors in each wing. This pylone forms one side of the great open colonnade, into which the traveller enters through it. The columns which border this on the north and south sides are forty-two feet high; the series on the north, consisting of eighteen of these columns, still remains. The southern series is broken by a temple (which leans, as a subordinate building, against the palace), whose principal entrance is out of this colonnade. This open colonnade is, however, only a kind of anteplace to the grand hall of columns, or covered saloon, which, of all that now remains of Egyptian architecture, is represented as the most stupendous and sublime⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ HAMILTON, p. 114, calls this building a temple; namely, the great temple of Jupiter at Karnac. But the nature and disposition of the building shows it to have been a palace.

⁴⁹ See the plan.

A flight of twenty-seven steps leads into it, through an antechamber and another pylone. Every thing here is colossal. So spacious is this saloon, that the largest church of Paris might stand whole within it; its area being no less than forty-seven thousand square feet. The ceiling, consisting of unhewn blocks of stone, is supported by one hundred and thirty-four columns. Each column of the two central rows, which are a little higher than the others, measures sixty-five feet in height, and ten feet in diameter, and thirty feet in circumference. The whole, from top to bottom, is ornamented with sculpture, relating to religious affairs. The procession of the holy ark is many times repeated, particularly on the walls. So great, however, is the number of these sculptures, that no one has yet been able to count them, much less to copy them. "No description," says an eyewitness, "can adequately express the sensations inspired by this astonishing sight, in which the magnificence and might of the ancient rulers of Egypt are made perceptible to the eye. Of what deeds, of what events, now lost to the history of the world, of what scenes have these columns formerly been the witnesses! Can it be doubted that this was the spot where those rulers of the world, of the nations of the east and of the west, exhibited themselves in their glory and power; That this was the spot to which those nations brought their presents and their tribute?"

From this stupendous saloon, a new pylone

leads into a second open colonnade, adorned with two magnificent obelisks; and behind this come the buildings which seem intended for the proper dwelling. Saloons and a number of apartments are found here formed entirely of granite⁵⁰. Domestic scenes are sometimes portrayed on the walls, as in the vaults of the dead, and at others religious matters, among which, initiation of the kings by the priests is not to be mistaken. In many of these reliefs the colours are still as fresh and splendid as ever.

This palace is besides adorned with great *historical reliefs*, which it would be unjust to pass over in silence. They are found on the exterior of the palace walls, and represent skirmishes, battles, and military expeditions. These are the subjects of which Denon has already published engravings, and which I have formerly spoken of⁵¹. They are divided into four compartments: in the first is the Egyptian hero, when he kills the hostile leader: in the second is the flight and the retreat of the defeated towards the strong hold: in the third the triumph

⁵⁰ In these granite apartments (the French artists vouch for the truth of this fact by signing their names, p. 234), was heard at sunrise, quite unexpectedly, a sound like that of a stretched chord, and such as the statue of Memnon is said to have given. It seemed to proceed from the huge granite blocks which form the roof, and was probably produced by the effect of a sudden change in the temperature of the air on this mass of stones. At the statue of Memnon it was not heard every day, but only occasionally.

⁵¹ See above, p. 118. DENON, plate cxxxiii. For this reason they have been omitted in the French work.

of the king with the prisoners before him ; and in the fourth, the king, when he again delivers up his weapons to Osiris, and presents to him the captives. The interpretation of this, there stated, namely, that it represents the *deliverance of Egypt from the Hyksos*, is likewise adopted by the French literati. As a great portion of the building now lies in ruins, some of the scenes are of course destroyed, but sufficient are left to evince that they formed one series. The king is seen on his car in pursuit of the enemy, who flees with his herds to the woods and marshes. The river is depicted, as well as the fortress, which is captured. The conquered come out of the woods and surrender to the king. The latter is portrayed in many engagements, so that the whole history of the war was probably pictured, and afterwards the triumphs, the captives, and offerings made to the gods. But as many of these are now decayed, and many of those which still exist are not copied, it would be a fruitless undertaking to attempt to arrange them. The particular figures are full of expression and life ; yet the whole has a strange appearance, and seems to betray the infancy of the art. The drapery of the two armies is everywhere accurately distinguished. The invaders have all beards and long garments, the form of their shields also differs from that of the Egyptians. The costume of the enemy here is very different from that of the defeated, as

represented at Medinet Abou, they must, therefore, have been different nations.

Immediately connected with this palace is a *temple*, which, though it must be ranked with the smaller ones, is yet remarkable from the place it occupies; for it is so built in the great colonnade of the palace, that the fore part of it stands therein, and its principal entrance is out of it. It is arranged in the same order, and has much the same ornaments as the other temples, but all in a smaller proportion. It may therefore be considered, with much probability, as the household chapel of the monarch who resided in the palace, who might therein render his daily prayers, and perform the holy ceremonies of his religion without quitting his dwelling.

Very different from this, as well as from the palace, is the *great temple*, lying in a southerly direction from the latter. Egyptian architecture has here done its utmost to appear in its most sublime magnitude near the palace. Four of those frequently described pylones here form the entrance, which contains the same number of immense open colonnades. In these are still standing twelve colossal statues, each formed of one piece; their number must have been far greater, as the remains of nineteen may still be traced. The great temple itself is one of the best preserved monuments of Karnac. Its chief entrance is towards the south,

so that it almost exactly faces the entrance of the palace at Luxor. The southern gateway of this temple is one of the most lofty and magnificent; but it is not, as is usually the case, attended by a pylone, but stands free and alone. The extreme height of this gateway is rather more than sixty-two feet. It is built of sandstone, and adorned in the richest manner with sculpture. This gateway does not lead at once into the temple, which is still a hundred and thirty feet distant, but into a gallery of colossal rams, twenty-two in number, which indicated to the pilgrim, that he was drawing nigh to the ancient sanctuary of Ammon. The completely isolated gateway was probably a later building; because the entrance to the temple itself again forms one of those pylones so often described, before which are seen the remains of colossal statues, and which again leads into an open colonnade, and this again into a saloon of columns. Behind this follows, as usual the *Adytum*, and then other saloons and apartments.

This temple is, without doubt, one of the most ancient that now exists in Egypt; and yet it offers a further confirmation of the opinion, to which the examination of the palace gives rise, *that both were partly built of the materials of more ancient edifices*, which were ornamented with the same hieroglyphics, the same colours, and just as well finished sculptures as the present temples. To what profound contempla-

tions upon the antiquity of the arts, and upon civilization so closely connected therewith, do these observations lead!

This large temple of Karnac is not the only one here remaining. Exactly opposite to it is another, of smaller dimensions, but whose sculptures must be classed with the most highly finished: it seems to be of later origin than the larger one.

The antiquities of Karnac form a group at the distance of a thousand and twenty-six toises from those of Luxor; for such is the space between the northern entrance of the palace at Luxor and the great gateway of the high temple at Karnac. Egyptian art, however, has connected these groups with one another, by an *avenue of colossal sphinxes*, which leads from one to the other, and which, as it approaches Karnac, again divides into numerous alleys. All these sphinxes are from twelve to eighteen feet long; they are partly lions couchant, with rams' heads (and these are the largest); partly with women's heads, and partly with rams couchant. No alley, however, consists of more than one kind of sphinx. Many of them still remain entire; of others only half, and of many only the pedestals are left; but the nearer they are to Karnac, the more perfect they seem to be, while the fragments scattered about still prove sufficiently their whole extent. The largest and principal avenue alone must have contained above six hundred of these colossal figures; and the whole

probably amounted to far above double this number. Those which still exist are of excellent workmanship. The stately repose expressed by their posture, was well calculated to excite feelings of veneration and awe in the pilgrims, who proceeded through this vast avenue from one sanctuary to the other, or took a part in the grand processions of the priests, as they are represented on the walls; they must also have tended to inspire that calm and holy meditation, which every one must still feel who beholds the remains of these marvellous works.

Beyond these monuments there are traces of many more. The whole chain of them extends to Medamoud, north of the ancient city, at the foot of the eastern mountain-ridge, where are likewise found the remains of an ancient smaller temple or palace, of smaller dimensions. "One is fatigued," says an eyewitness, "with writing, one is fatigued with reading, one is frightened at the idea of so vast a conception; and even after having seen, it is difficult to believe in the existence of such a vast pile of buildings united to one point."

III. *Catacombs.*

From the monuments above ground let us now turn to those beneath its surface; and these will be found not only equally remarkable and interesting, but in some respects more instructive. I designate them by the general name of caverns; but must premise that I do

not herein include any that were formed by nature, but only such as were effected by human industry; no others seems to have existed in this quarter. All these subterraneous works are on the western side of the river, and consequently in the Libyan mountain-chain. This seems to be accounted for from the quality of the stone: the western ridge consisting here of limestone; while that of the east is composed of a much harder kind. The softer nature of the former renders it much fitter to be employed both for the formation and the ornamenting of caverns.

The mountain-ridge is nearly three hundred feet high; and rises here so steep that there is difficulty, and even danger, in ascending it. The caverns are of three kinds: 1. Grottoes for the living. 2. Catacombs for the burial of the people. 3. The royal sepulchres. I must speak of each separately.

1. *Grottoes for the living.* Ancient Thebes affords only one cavern of this kind, and it is highly probable that this was not made use of as a place of burial. This grotto is situated at about a hundred and fifty toises north-east of the palace of Osymandyas, not in the mountain-ridge, but rather in a hill before it. Its front faces the Nile; before it is an open area, hewn out of the rock, from which the traveller passes into a court, likewise uncovered. All the rest is subterraneous. Within are found saloons and chambers of various dimensions, upon three

stories. A staircase of fifty-six steps leads from the top to the bottom. The walls are everywhere covered with sculpture, which must be ranked with the best and most highly finished, notwithstanding the light of day could never have fallen upon them. In the pits of this grotto, as well as in those of the catacombs, some remains of mummies are certainly to be found; but the arrangement of the whole building renders it very unlikely that it should have been intended merely for a place of burial. That the Egyptian nobles, however, had within their dwellings, the storehouse in which should afterwards be preserved their bones, has already been seen in the palace of Osymandyas. This grotto also might have served for the initiation of the kings into the mysteries, or as a cool retreat for them from the summer heat. It was situated in the way to the catacombs and royal graves; and it would be difficult to find a place better adapted to promote a solemn and contemplative frame of mind.

2. *Catacombs.* The catacombs are not peculiar to Thebes; every Egyptian city had its own: those of Memphis are found at Saccara. But as the kingly capital of Egypt did not excel more in her temples and palaces above ground than she did in these subterranean caverns and tombs for her people and kings, they are found in no other part of Egypt so numerous, nor executed with the same degree of care, skill, and attention. They bear testimony, as well as

the architectural wonders, to the fact, that the ancient Thebais was the country where civilization, and every branch of learning and science, were carried to the highest perfection.

These catacombs are situated in the Libyan mountain-chain, where it approaches the nearest to Medinet-Abou and Gornou, and extend about four or five miles in length. The steep ridge, which is nearly three hundred feet high, affords ample space for these burial places. They rise in tiers one above the other. The lowest, in which the rich sought to find their long resting-place, are the largest and most beautiful; the higher we ascend the poorer they become. The more spacious and splendid have an open vestibule before the entrance, but the greater number merely doors. The lower passages to which they lead, run sometimes horizontally, sometimes downwards, sometimes straight, and sometimes winding. They lead at one time into saloons and apartments, and at others into pits, of which the traveller must be on his guard. Many are connected together, and form a labyrinth, from which it is often difficult to find the way out. In the large caverns are found saloons twelve and fifteen feet high, supported by rows of pillars; and behind them is a smaller apartment, with a sort of platform up four steps. In the back ground is a sitting human figure, hewn in high relief, and frequently accompanied by two females. Upon the side of the hall are galleries; and in these are the

mummy pits, from nine to twelve feet wide, and from forty to fifty deep. There has been nowhere discovered the least trace of steps descending into them. Some of the caverns are more, others less regularly formed. The earth is strewed over with mummies and pieces of mummies, which have been turned out of their cases, so that the traveller has to wade, as it were, through them. Among them are found amulets, idols, and other antiquities. These caverns are now the habitation of bats and Arabs, equally to be feared by the wanderer; the former, because their flight may extinguish the light, the latter as robbers. Another danger equally great menaces the traveller from the inflammability of the mummies; it is only with torches and lights that these gloomy abodes can be penetrated; and a spark would in a moment ignite a brand, which would doom the wanderer to the cruelest death.

The Egyptians, who were entirely ignorant of the arch in their architecture, often adopted this form in their vaults. The ceilings at the entrance, and in the front corridors, are usually arched; this is particularly striking in the royal graves, at which we shall presently arrive.

The catacombs are without pillars, and in general bear but little resemblance to the buildings above ground. The walls, however, are not less richly ornamented. These ornaments are composed partly of painted reliefs, and partly of mere paintings in fresco. The representa-

tions on the walls are always pictures, enclosed by straight lines, in which the reliefs are finished with astonishing skill. In many of them complete figures are only two inches high; and the hieroglyphics which accompany them only four lines. The subjects consist of various affairs of common life: sometimes proper indoor business; such as the weighing of goods; a feast, at which is seen the master of the house, his wife and guests, with a richly spread table; a dance;—there are also hunting pieces; the labours of the husbandman, the vintage; the navigation of the Nile; musical instruments, the harp, the lute, flutes; wild and domestic animals, etc. The ceilings have no ornaments in sculpture, but are merely painted in fresco; they are the more worthy of attention, as the Egyptian artist here abandoned himself entirely to his fancy, as the moderns do in arabesque work. All this splendid workmanship must have been executed with an artificial light, and could only have been seen by the same means.

But besides these pictures of domestic and social life, these sepulchral chambers also contain the remains of ancient Egyptian literature. In the mummies have been found many rolls of papyrus, and, above all, one great roll, which, when drawn out, measures twenty-eight feet in length. This relic contains upwards of thirty thousand characters, in five hundred and fifteen columns, and is written partly in hieroglyphic

and partly in alphabetical characters. An accurate copy of it is now spread before me, and offers a wide, a new, and an interesting field for some enterprising genius. Bricks, with impressed inscriptions, have likewise been found here, as well as in Babylon. The characters upon them, however, are not letters, but hieroglyphics, which seem to have been stamped with a wooden block.

What a fine school, then, here offers itself for the study of Egyptian antiquities, and by a path hitherto untrodden? What has been copied seems considerable, and yet—even with all that has since been brought into Europe—it is but a mite compared with what remains. Many rock-caverns have not yet been opened at all! Let us hope that barbarians will still spare the bulk of them, till some new fortunate concurrence of circumstances shall present copies of them to the anxious and curious of Europe!

3. *The royal sepulchres.* The situation and disposition of these tombs are very different from those of the sepulchres of the people. They are placed in the interior of the Libyan mountains; and, in visiting them from Gornou, the traveller has to go a distance of about three miles, through a narrow mountain pass, to the entrance of the valley containing them. They are called the royal sepulchres (and they were thus named in antiquity), because from their magnitude and splendour, as well as from the

objects pictured on their walls, there is every reason to believe that they were such. The defile which leads to them had, originally, no outlet: this must have been first opened from the back ground by manual labour. A way hewn in the rocks leads to a narrow pass, which forms the entrance to the valley containing these royal caves. The valley here spreads out, into two branches, one south-east and the other south-west. It was, therefore, originally entirely inaccessible; and this, in the eyes of the Egyptian, was certainly its greatest recommendation. No sign of vegetation is here to be seen; steep rugged rocks enclose it on every side; all around bears the image of death. The heat, softened by no refreshing breeze, and increased by the reflection of the scorching rays of the sun from the rocks and sand, becomes so intense, that no flesh could abide it without danger, if it were not for the shelter afforded by the catacombs. Two of the companions of General Desaix were suffocated by its violence.

Twelve of these tombs are now known⁵² (the twelfth was first discovered by the French⁵³); in Strabo's time there were about forty; but

⁵¹ HAMILTON, p. 154, found but ten accessible, instead of the eighteen which were so in the time of Strabo. STRABO, p. 1170.

⁵³ [“ Before Mr. Belzoni began his operations in Thebes, only eleven of these tombs were known to the public. From the great success that crowned his exertions, the number of them now discovered is nearly double.” Note added by the translator from RICHARDSON'S *Travels*, as cited in the *Modern Traveller*.]

the entrance to many are now blocked up, by fragments of rock which have fallen down⁵⁴; and thus their contents will be preserved, probably uninjured, for future ages. The general appearance of those that have been opened is similar, though they are not exactly alike; they differ in size and in their embellishments. The depth varies from fifty to three hundred and sixty feet. Some are entirely covered with ornaments, and these are completely finished; in others they are scarcely begun.

Each of these caverns forms a suite of corridors, chambers, and apartments, in which there is generally one principal saloon. This usually contains an elevation, upon which stood the sarcophagus containing the body of the king. Out of the twelve tombs six still preserve the sarcophagi, or some part of them; in others they have wholly disappeared. That found in the largest cavern, called by the French the *harp-tomb* (from two harp-players being represented therein), is twelve feet long, and formed of red granite; upon being struck with a hammer it sounds like a bell. The principal apartment in this tomb is vaulted, and supported by eight pillars. The traveller has to push through at least ten doors before he comes to this sarcophagus; but however securely the king who here rests, may have imagined he had provided for the quiet repose of his remains, they have not withstood the human lust of plunder.

In the chamber next to the principal door, are found the remains of several mummies. It seems therefore certain that besides the king, those who had been about his person while living, again became his companions here after his death.

The walls are everywhere covered with sculpture and paintings. Owing to the nature of the stone these could not be wrought here, as in the palaces, upon the rock itself; but the walls are plastered over with a kind of mortar, upon which the sculpture and paintings are executed.

The embellishments of this tomb are highly interesting, and afford much various information. Many of the subjects are religious offerings and sacrifices. Among the latter human victims cannot be mistaken. Those who are sacrificed are all negroes⁵⁵. But besides religious rites, there are also found here, just where they would have been least expected, representations of battles, both on water and on land; the slaughtering of captives, etc. Although it must excite astonishment to find these scenes of blood and turmoil portrayed in the sanctity and stillness of the grave; yet they nevertheless prove to the searcher into anti-

⁵⁵ It is clear that executions are represented, though it does not thence follow that they are sacrifices. HAMILTON, p. 157, very ingeniously conjectures that the Egyptians intended, by these representations, to designate the king as a tyrant. But then, how comes it that the persons executed are all black people?

quity, that these tombs could be intended for none but kings. There is, however, besides this, so much represented here, belonging to every day life, such as vessels, seats, implements and tools, musical instruments, etc. as cannot fail to give us some idea of the luxury of this nation, and the high degree of perfection to which the arts had attained among them. A proper notion of them, however, cannot be conveyed by verbal description alone—the aid of the artist is required to make them understood.

The hope that the tombs still closed up, might preserve, uninjured, their treasures for future ages, is not likely to be disappointed. Belzoni, with much labour, opened the entrance to one of them, and discovered what far surpassed his expectation. What had been executed two, and perhaps three thousand years ago, was as fresh and uninjured as though just turned out of the hands of the artist. Corridor after corridor, chamber after chamber, were found. The sculptures and paintings are as fresh as if done but yesterday; and when at last the principal apartment was opened to the traveller, he discovered that wonderful piece of art, nothing like which has hitherto been found, a sarcophagus of the purest Oriental alabaster; nine feet five inches in length, and five feet seven broad. It is semi-transparent, and covered both within and without with hundreds of figures, which seem to relate to funeral

rites. It is incorrectly supposed that it once contained the bones of Pharaoh Psammis⁵⁶: it now adorns the British museum. But even the few painted reliefs which have been copied from the walls, and now lie before me, convey much more information, both of a physiological and historical nature, than this splendid relic. We here see nations of three different races of men, the tawny, the black, and the white, who are distinguished by their colour and features. The scene represented is not of a warlike, but of a peaceable nature. The king appears in regal pomp; the ambassadors of tributary nations come to render homage to him. They

⁵⁶ BELZONI, *Narrative*, p. 242. Namely of Psammis the second, or Psammuthis, the son and successor of Necho. This was the opinion of Mr. Young, which is said to be confirmed by the reliefs, as Necho had warred against the Jews, and Psammis against the Ethiopians. From this time this grave and the sarcophagus have been called the grave and sarcophagus of Psammuthis. This explanation nevertheless is evidently false. This Psammuthis, like his father Necho, belonged to the dynasty of Sais, which was overthrown by the Persians. Besides, the *whole* of the princes of this dynasty were buried at Sais in the Delta, and not at Thebes in Upper Egypt. HEROD. ii. 169, expressly states this: "When Apries (the son and successor of Psammuthis) was put to death, he was buried in the *tombs of his fathers*. But these tombs are in the temple of Minerva, close to the sacred edifice, on the left hand as one goes in. For the inhabitants of Sais bury *all* the kings of that nome within this sanctuary. Even the tomb of Amasis is there, though placed a little farther from the temple than that of Apries and his ancestors." The grave and the sarcophagus, therefore, which are in London, are not those of Psammis. Whose they are I cannot decide. Among the names deciphered by Champollion, that of Amenophis II. comes nearest to it. The lowest sign only is a little different (a bason or basket instead of a box.) CHAMPOLLION, No. 111. The difference of the title in the second oval, forms no proof against it, since this often differs. Until something better shall be offered, I shall consider the grave and sarcophagus as belonging to Amenophis II. without, however, attaching much weight to my opinion.

do not appear as captives, but as performing a stately ceremony, in their national dress and splendour. In the first plate⁵⁷ we discover the king on his throne, with the regal ornaments⁵⁸, the sceptre in his hand, a golden chain about his neck, and a votive tablet. In the two following plates⁵⁹, and particularly in the third, are given in two ovals, his name and title, surrounded by protecting deities. Each of the embassies consists of four men. First, the tawny, or brown red, appear, led by a priest, with the sparrowhawk's head⁶⁰. They are called Egyptians, because they have the usual colour of the Egyptians on the monuments. I cannot consider them as such, but suppose them to be Nubians. First, on account of their dress. They are naked⁶¹, except round the middle, where they have a white fine garment; the Nubians still frequently wear a similar one. Secondly, because of their headdress, as they have the thick Nubian hair. Neither of these is Egyptian: neither in the priesthood, nor in the warrior caste, is this dress ever found; nor, as far as I know, even among the lower castes, who cannot be imagined to have had a place in this pageant. Finally, the last scene clearly

⁵⁷ BELZONI, plate i.

⁵⁸ On the plates of BELZONI the *uraus*, or the small serpent in the royal headdress, which constitutes an essential part of it, is very plainly represented. And from this it is clear, that it is the aspick (*Coluber Haja*).

⁵⁹ Plates ii. iii.

⁶⁰ Plate vi.

⁶¹ STRABO, p. 1176.

shows that they are altogether foreign nations, who are here paying their homage. We are not surprised to see the priest introducing them, as we know that the Egyptian religion prevailed in Nubia⁶². Four white men next appear⁶³; and at a single glance the Jewish physiognomy is recognised in them. "Their national features," we are told by a late traveller⁶⁴, "are thrown together with so much comic humour, that it would be difficult for a modern artist to do any thing more perfectly." They may be considered as representing the Syrians and Phœnicians in general; whose physiognomy probably differed but slightly from that of the Jews. The black ambassadors come next⁶⁵; and are likewise four in number. They are also lightly clad, but evidently for a stately occasion. A curiously wrought ornament hangs over the left shoulder, which serves to keep up the fine white garment which goes round the waist. Gold or silver dust seems to be strewed in their thick woolly hair. The fourth embassy, from a white nation, is still more remarkable by the magnificence of their dress and decorations⁶⁶. They are distinguished by a headdress of feathers, with a lock of hair hanging down; and by long

⁶² I leave the farther examination of these reasons to the judgment of my readers. If they agree with me, the identity between the Egyptian and Nubian tribe, which I have maintained, would also be proved. But I mention expressly, that the assertion in the text is by no means made on account of this opinion.

⁶³ Plate vii.

⁶⁵ Plate viii.

⁶⁴ MINUTOLI, *Travels*, p. 271.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

white flowered garments of the finest texture. If we here call to mind what Herodotus says of the dresses of the Babylonians⁶⁷, we shall be induced to consider these ambassadors as such; the more so, as their physiognomy and their beards, are evidently Asiatic. It is certain that the Pharaoh who rested here, had dominion over foreign nations. It is my confirmed opinion that it is Amenophis the second, and the following chapter will show that this character perfectly suits him.

In the few remarks which I shall make upon these monuments, it is not my intention to go over the whole of the wide field they offer; a field, in fact, so extensive, that a long continued study, and a separate work, would be necessary to do it justice; it is withal so rich, that the knowledge of one man might scarcely suffice. No one but a skilful architect could fairly discuss the merits of the buildings: mathematical, astronomical, and musical knowledge would be nearly equally requisite. I shall confine myself chiefly to those objects of which the present work professes to treat; but these are sometimes so closely interwoven with others, that it will often become difficult to avoid touching upon them.

The question now to be discussed is, to what extent are we acquainted with the monuments of ancient Thebes, after all the new sources

⁶⁷ HEROD. i. 195.

which have been opened to us. The French artists have given us a positive answer on this head. "We have been," they say⁶⁸, "thrice at Thebes, and remained at our second and third visits full two months among its ruins. During that time no monument was left unexamined. When our plans and sketches were quite finished, they were again compared with those of the architect Le Père and his assistants; and what are contained in our publication are the result of these mutual communications. Future travellers may rest assured, that so far as architectural remains are concerned, and drawings and copies of them, nothing is left to be done. A wide field, however, is still left open to them if they will explore in detail the numerous sculptures with which the buildings are covered, particularly the historical bas-reliefs, relating to the conquests of the ancient rulers of Egypt; or if they choose to examine the catacombs, and copy the remarkable bas-reliefs descriptive of the manners and domestic habits of the ancient Egyptians." We are therefore well acquainted with the buildings which remain of ancient Thebes, but only very partially with the sculptures and paintings which decorate them and the subterranean vaults of the dead. If we are questioned as to the fidelity of the sketches, our best answer would be derived from the passage just quoted, and from a comparison with the

⁶⁸ *Descript.* p. 207.

engravings of Hamilton. For any one to expect here an exact agreement in the minutest detail, would only show him to be unacquainted with the circumstances under which the drawings were made. They agree in the principal points; and their descriptions alike abound in expressions of wonder and astonishment, which these monuments excited in proportion as they became more accurately known. The testimony of a late impartial traveller has also rescued the French artists from the suspicion of having heightened the beauty of the originals. Minutoli says, in his account of the temple at Denderah⁶⁹, "that they may be charged with incorrectness and omissions, but we should be unjust in thinking their copies beautified. Justice, on the contrary, has not been done to the correctness of outline, to the elegance of the decorations, to the soft delicacy of the features, to the mildness of expression, nor to that lofty repose which seems to reign in every part, and in which Egyptian art seems to vie with the Grecian." What a faint picture, however, must all this give of ancient Thebes! What a splendid scene must have burst on the vision of the wanderer, who, emerging from the desert, after having toiled up the steep of the Libyan mountain-chain, suddenly beheld the fruitful valley of the Nile, with its numerous towns, and in its centre royal Thebes, with her temples, colossi, and obelisks!

⁶⁹ MINUTOLI'S *Travels*, p. 247.

We must therefore acknowledge that much yet remains to be examined of infinite importance for our plan. Though the architect or artist, may in general be satisfied, though the religious inquirer may need little more than what he sees represented in the works of sculpture, the historian finds himself very differently situated. His principal demand must be for historical and ethnographical reliefs, and for those representing the domestic life of the nation and its rulers; and here least has been done. Even the little, however, that we do possess, is sufficient to open a new field, or, if I may be allowed the expression, a new world of antiquities for examination. But before entering upon a detailed inquiry, we may remark, that the whole indisputably discloses to us views of antiquity altogether different from those we formerly entertained. To what a high degree of civilization must that nation have arrived, which could plan such marvels? If we were only acquainted with the Pyramids, we could easily imagine, that despotic monarchs might compel their slavish subjects to pile up these immense masses of stone. Since our acquaintance with these wonders, wrought in the highest style of perfection, we feel convinced, that so just and noble a taste could never have been formed under the rod of tyrants; but that there must have been a period, and indeed a long one, however different the form of government might have been from ours, during which

the mind could unfold its faculties freely and undisturbed, and could soar to a height, in certain points, never attained by any other. And as it is clear that Religion was the chief lever which put these immense powers into motion ; how different should our ideas of this Religion be, from those which the barbarous superstition into which it afterwards degenerated, has given rise to ?

The first idea which presents itself from a view of these monuments, must be, that Thebes was once the capital of a mighty empire, whose boundaries extended far beyond Egypt, which at some distant period, comprised a great part of Africa, and an equally large portion of Asia. Her kings are represented as victors and conquerors ; and the scene of their glory is not confined to Egypt, but often carried into remote regions. Prisoners of distant nations bend the knee before these conquerors, and count themselves happy if they can obtain their pardon.

This idea immediately produces a conviction that a much closer connection, and a more accurate knowledge of the nations of the southern world, must have existed in those two quarters of the globe, than is generally supposed. This must have been a natural consequence of the wars and conquests, particularly as by these a lasting dominion and a large empire were soon formed. This is farther confirmed by the many examples which evince the refinement of domestic life, and the degree of luxury to which the

people had arrived. The narrow valley of the Nile could not supply all the articles, such as costly garments, perfumes, etc., which we find here represented. An extensive commerce was requisite, not only to obtain all this, but also to produce that opulence, and that interchange of ideas, which constitute its foundation.

If we question history, we shall find its testimony by no means contradictory to what the monuments would lead us to conclude. Xenophon speaks, in his *Cyropædia*, of the existence of such an intercourse between the nations and states from the banks of the Nile to the *Axus*, the *Indus*, and the *Ganges*; which, how much soever of his work may be attributed to imagination, could hardly be devoid of historical foundation. And if, in the history of the middle ages and of modern times, we find repeated proofs, that conquering nations extended their dominion not only beyond those territories, but even as far as *China* and the coast of the *Atlantic ocean*, why might not the same have happened two thousand years ago? It may at least be concluded from this, that ancient history, in speaking of the great conquering expeditions of the Egyptian rulers, of *Sesostris*, *Osymandyas*, and others, contains by no means any internal improbability; although I would not deprive criticism of its right to examine the testimonies on which these events are founded.

A more accurate examination of the monuments of *Thebes* has made it clear, that they

were not merely temples, but that some of them were the abodes of princes, or, to speak more correctly, imperial palaces⁷⁰. All the public buildings of Egypt might in some measure be called temples, since all of them in their sculptures and decorations bear traces of the close connection between politics and religion; but there is certainly this difference, that some were *only* temples in the proper sense of the word; while others, though perhaps dedicated to divinities, were principally intended for another purpose. This difference is partly perceived by the disposition of the interior, partly by the style of the architecture itself.

Indeed the arrangement of the interior of the temples and palaces appears, at the first glance, to bear a great resemblance to each other. Both have the splendid pylones as entrances, open colonnades, and saloons of columns; pillar courts, and pillar halls; even rooms, intended for habitations: those in the temples probably for the priests. But in the temples these usually surround the interior sanctuary; in the palaces, where there was no such *adytum*, they occupy its place, and usually consist of saloons and

⁷⁰ Even Diodorus makes a distinction, when he first mentions Thebes : οἰκοδομήματα μεγάλα, καὶ ναοὶ εὐπρεπεῖς, καὶ αἱ τῶν ἰδιοτῶν οἰκίαι. i. p. 54. In assigning four principal temples to Thebes, he seems to have used this expression in the sense of designating by it the neighbouring palaces, and the whole group of buildings which lie in Karnac, Luxor, and Medinet Abou. Whether he means by the fourth the no longer extant Memnonium, or the palace of Osymandyas, I will not decide. He probably meant the Memnonium, since he calls the other a tomb.

chambers, built of granite, and not of sandstone like the rest. As regards the palaces it must not be forgotten, that they were not merely the habitations of the rulers, but were also adapted for public use. In their splendid halls of columns, justice was probably administered, ambassadors received, tributes paid, etc. These buildings are therefore very justly called imperial palaces, and are distinguished by that name from those smaller edifices, from the pavilion for instance, which seems to have served merely as a dwelling or summer residence for the monarch. Thebes alone—as there are no monuments left at Memphis—contains buildings of this kind, and is thereby distinguished as the residence of the rulers.

Another characteristic difference is found in the decorations. The temples and palaces certainly resemble each other in one respect, namely, that the walls and pillars of both are covered with sculptures; but they differ with regard to the subjects represented: those on the walls of the temples *always* relate to religious matters, but not so those on the palaces. Not that the latter are entirely destitute of religious subjects; but those which are almost exclusively peculiar to them, are first, the historical reliefs found in the palaces of Medinet Abou, Luxor, and Karnac; and secondly, the martial expeditions and triumphs above described. This explains why they are only, as far as we know, found in Thebes: out of Thebes there are temples, but

no palaces known⁷¹. It is moreover remarkable, that these warlike scenes are mostly found on the exterior walls, pylones, etc.; on the side walls of the great open colonnades, and halls of columns, which were undoubtedly intended for public use, assemblies of the people, triumphs, etc. And nowhere could representations of this kind have been more appropriately placed. Others, on the contrary, are found in the apartments and saloons, which must have served as the habitations of the rulers. The scenes here represented are for the most part of a peaceful and domestic nature⁷², though continually interspersed with religious rites, such as sacrifices, initiation into the mysteries, etc. This was very natural, considering how much the private life of the kings, according to Diodorus's account, was regulated by a ritual, and that he was attended by youths of the priest caste⁷³. The remark however which I made, in speaking of the scenes portrayed at Persepolis, is also applicable here, namely, that the subjects represented on the walls bear a close relation to the use of the apartments in which they are found, and thus the pictures enable us to infer for what use these apartments were intended: the Egypt-

⁷¹ But we know from the first vol. of this work that in Nubia this difference was not observed, and that here also on the walls, though only on the exterior walls, of the temples, historical reliefs are found.

⁷² See the drawings of Medinet Abou, plate xvii. vol. ii. Compare particularly *Descript.* p. 245.

⁷³ DIODORUS, p. 81, 82. see p. 156.

ians however do not seem to have adhered so strictly to this rule as the Persians.

Finally: The third difference observable between the temples and palaces is in the style of their architecture⁷⁴; the style of the palaces being most pleasing and simple, though yet retaining a character of grandeur and majesty. The pavilion, as it is called by the French, affords us an example of a building two stories high, which is never the case in the temples. But the farther prosecution of this subject I must leave to architects.

According to Diodorus, Thebes had four principal temples, the largest of which was at least thirty stadia in circumference. Now as among all these, that of Ammon was the most celebrated in antiquity, the question naturally arises, which of the temples of Thebes is the old temple of Ammon⁷⁵? In my opinion it is the great temple of Karnac, called by the French, the great southern temple; and I shall here state the reasons upon which my opinion is founded.

First: The old temple must have been situated on the eastern side of the Nile; because on this side, according to Strabo, the old town was built, which derived its name from this very temple. The decision therefore is confined to the monuments of Luxor and Karnac. Luxor

⁷⁴ *Descript.* p. 30.

⁷⁵ STRABO, p. 1170. Strabo speaks here of the side on which the old town was built, as different from the western side, ἡ περαιά, where the Memnonium stood.

however affords nothing which will bear any reference to the temple of Ammon. The great building of Luxor is a palace and not a temple, as is shown by the description already given.

Secondly: At Karnac the case is quite reversed. Every thing here relates to Jupiter Ammon and his service. The great avenues of colossal rams refer to it. Ornaments taken from rams present themselves on every side⁷⁶. The holy ship with the attributes of Ammon appears, and once in a very remarkable representation; it is portrayed as being drawn along by a profane vessel which precedes it⁷⁷: a clear proof, therefore, that it must not be considered here as borne in procession, but as merely voyaging on the Nile.

Finally: According to the testimony of Diodorus, the temple of Ammon was the oldest and at the same time the largest of all the temples of Thebes⁷⁸: a fact which would have been evident, even if he had not mentioned it; as it was the chief temple of the city, and bore the name of the deity. Now the temple of Karnac appears, at this time, in the opinion of the French

⁷⁶ How much the French were surprised at this, may be seen in *Descript.* p. 258. Osiris also appears very frequently. But he is the son and usual companion of Ammon; and this appears the stronger as the tradition of the priests usually ascribed to the two the foundation of the temple.

⁷⁷ Plates iii. xxxiii.

⁷⁸ DIODORUS, i. p. 55, where he also gives the measurement of the building. The French have found his statements to agree, if we take in the whole pile of buildings. *Descript.* p. 282.

visitors⁷⁹ both in its architecture, and in its decorations and reliefs, as the oldest of the Theban temples; so much so as to form quite a contrast with the small temple near it, notwithstanding it is partly built of the remains of a still more ancient temple, which had the same kind of ornaments. Thus the present temple is probably only the successor of one still older, which stood here many thousand years ago; and who can offer any thing like a proof that even this had no predecessor?

The great palace of Medinet Abou is called by the French the palace of Sesostris, because the historical reliefs upon it seem to represent the exploits and military expeditions of that monarch, as they are described by Diodorus⁸⁰. In the lion-chase we see the youthful exercises in which he indulged in Arabia, during the life of his father; in the naval engagement, the fleet which he built on the Red sea, etc. All this is very probable; but it is impossible to judge of them with certainty, without possessing copies of all the reliefs upon that temple. If, however, and this can hardly be doubted, Sesostris was the great hero of the narratives of the Egyptian priests, it is natural that his exploits should be the subjects of the historical pictures

⁷⁹ *Descript.* p. 269. There is perhaps no building in all Egypt, which bears such strong marks of high antiquity as the great southern temple at Karnac. The powerful and masculine character of its architecture, seems to place the epoch of its construction in the very earliest period at which the arts were cultivated in Egypt.

⁸⁰ DIODORUS, i. p. 64.

which decorate the walls of the temples and palace.

Before I proceed any farther, however, with these pictures, let me be allowed to add a few more observations on these architectural monuments in general.

First: It continually becomes more evident, how much the style of Egyptian architecture depended upon the climate and natural features of the land. In a climate where the sky is constantly serene, and the sun almost vertical, protection from its intense rays, shade and coolness, would be first sought for. The life of the Egyptians, even of the higher ranks, was in a great measure a public one: it was made so by religion and politics. Porticoes, colonnades, and temples were therefore required, which would not only ward off the piercing beams of the sun, but whose walls and thick stone roofs should afford a protection from heat in general. Those immense piles, though not produced by mere necessity, yet were ready at its call.

Farther: The idea that this architecture was in a certain degree an imitation of the catacombs, and proceeded from them, must be adopted with some caution. The caverns at Thebes, so far as we are acquainted with them, seem to have been formed by art, and not by nature. The architecture of these caverns (if I may be allowed this expression) certainly agrees, in some respects, with that of the temples and palaces, particularly in the decorations

of the walls; but we cannot strictly call one a copy of the other. The roofs of the caverns are partly arched, while in their architecture the Egyptians seem to have had no notion of the principles by which arches are constructed. The cavern roofs are often supported by pillars, but they are by no means the prototypes of the pillars which are found in the temples and palaces. It seems probable that a part of these subterranean chambers were at first quarries, which were afterwards converted by the help of art into sepulchres, and that others were originally excavated for this express object. According to the observations of the French artists, it appears that they must not be ascribed to the early periods of Egyptian art, as the pictures on their walls nowhere betray its infancy, but rather its mature age⁸¹. However this may be, the idea that they formed models of the temples falls to the ground, directly it is proved that there were no natural caves in those mountains, which, however, has not yet been fully established. But, notwithstanding all this, the Egyptian architecture so much resembles the catacombs, and the idea that it was copied from them, returns at every view of the monuments so forcibly, that it can hardly be banished. The obscurity which hovers over this subject is dispelled, if we assume that this architecture was not originally Egyptian, but introduced from

⁸¹ *Descript.* p. 336.

Ethiopia, the country of the Troglodytes. And I say originally, because nothing is more certain than that it was quite Egyptian in its progression, since nearly all its ornaments, especially those of the capitals, are evidently copies of natural objects of Egypt.

From the buildings let us turn to the sculptures, particularly to the great historical reliefs. Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo unanimously agree that some of the ancient kings of Egypt were great warriors and conquerors, who extended their expeditions in the east as far as Bactria and India, in the north and south as far as the Caucasus and Ethiopia. They farther inform us that some of them built fleets on the Indian sea, and were as powerful on this element as they were on land⁸². Let us therefore examine how far the reliefs confirm the statements of these writers.

That the traditions of the priests celebrated many old kings as heroes and conquerors, and that the latter are represented as such on the walls of the palaces, is evident from a single glance at them. The inquiry becomes more interesting and satisfactory by our finding that the artists in their delineations and representations, have carefully and faithfully distinguished the different nations by their costume, arms, and some other tokens, as far as this was pos-

⁸² HEROD. ii. 102; DIODORUS, i. p. 64; STRABO, i. xvii. p. 816; cf. xvi. p. 769.

sible. The first inquiry will probably and very justly be, how was the colour of the skin represented? Here a very remarkable circumstance presents itself. Egyptian art certainly well knew how to designate black people. They are particularly distinguished in the tombs of the kings⁸³, usually in such positions as show that they have just been, or are on the point of being executed; and the remembrance that it was customary to sacrifice black people immediately occurs. They also appear as ambassadors, or representatives of black nations; but it is worthy of notice, that they have never yet been found in battles. The colours of the fighting nations are brown and red among the Egyptians, and yellow among their enemies. It would be rash to assert that the colour of these nations was exactly painted after life, as this might be impossible with the limited variety of colours to which the Egyptian artists were restricted; but we may conclude with certainty, that Negroes would have been presented as such, if they had been employed in war.

The Egyptians and their enemies are also easily distinguished from one another without attending to these particular marks, as the former are always represented as victors, the latter either as having been defeated, or as on the point of being so. These works of art were intended as memorials of the fame and bravery

⁸³ Plate lxxxvi, vol. ii.

both of the nation and its kings ; can it, then, be expected that they would perpetuate any events but those which were crowned with success ? These battle-pieces are partly naval engagements, and partly battles on land. Both must be more accurately examined. Representations of naval battles are found on the walls of the palace of Medinet Abou, and on those of Karnac⁸⁴ ; but the former only can here come under consideration, as they alone have been copied and described.

It cannot be doubted but the engagement, of which only a part could be copied, took place at sea, and not on the river. The structure of the ships is quite different from that of the vessels on the Nile. They are impelled both by sails and oars, and have a long form resembling galleys. Although the vessels of the Egyptians and their enemies have the same form, yet those of the former are easily distinguished by the head of a lion or ram on the prow, which the hostile vessels never carry. The question therefore is, whether the naval engagement took place on the coast of the Mediterranean, or, which is most likely, in the Arabian or Indian sea ? In the first case the enemies might be Phœnicians ; in the other, some southern nation.

The first supposition is neither confirmed by history, nor by the representation of the nations

⁸⁴ Plate x. vol. ii.

themselves. That the early kings of Thebes carried on wars at sea against the Phœnicians, and had squadrons on the Mediterranean (as might afterwards happen, when Middle and Lower Egypt was the seat of Egyptian power), we find nowhere mentioned in history, that is to say, in the traditions of the priests; and we cannot expect here the mention of any circumstances not celebrated in them. Neither does the costume suit the Phœnicians, who, being a branch of the Arabian stock, and neighbours of the Jews, undoubtedly wore beards and long garments, according to the custom of those nations; but the reverse of all this is found here.

On the other hand, every thing here seems to point to an engagement with some nation on the Arabian gulf or Indian sea. The traditions of the Egyptian priests celebrated the expeditions of the old Pharaohs on this sea, as is stated in Diodorus and Herodotus. "Sesostris," Diodorus tells us⁸⁵, "conquered first the Ethiopians of the south, and made them tributary. He then sent a fleet of four hundred ships to the Red (Indian) sea, and was the first in these countries who built long vessels. With this fleet he took possession of the islands and the coasts of the countries as far as India." Herodotus⁸⁶ mentions the same facts. "The priests," he says, "relate of Sesostris, that he sailed out

⁸⁵ DIODORUS, i. p. 64.

⁸⁶ HEROD. ii. 102.

of the Arabian gulf with long vessels, and conquered the countries lying on the Indian sea, and continued to advance till he came to a sea which could not be navigated because of its shallows." The naval engagement pictured on the walls of Medinet Abou, appears certainly to represent the defeat of an enemy attempting to land, and consequently rather a successful defence than an attack. But this forms only one scene of these naval expeditions, of which we have no minute history; who therefore can say what else might have happened in them? The long ships, however, mentioned by both writers, cannot be mistaken. That these, beyond all doubt, were built for the sea, that their construction differed entirely from that of the vessels on the Nile, has been already mentioned by the French, and is evinced by their appearance. The Egyptians and their allies wear the same dress, but their weapons are different. The Egyptians are armed with bows and arrows, while their allies carry clubs, such as Herodotus ascribes to the Ethiopians above Egypt⁸⁷. The costume of their enemies is totally different. Two distinct though kindred nations, are here clearly perceived. They have neither long garments nor beards, consequently cannot be Arabs. They both wear short clothes, which seem to be fastened with bands or girdles. They are

⁸⁷ HEROD. vii. 69. According to HAMILTON, p. 45, the Ethiopians appear on a battle-piece at Medinet Abou as the allies of the Egyptians.

armed with swords and round shields, but differ in their headdress; one constantly wearing a kind of helmet, decorated with a bunch of upright feathers, the other a cap made of the skin of some beast, with its ears left prominent. If these are not Arabs, they must be inhabitants of the coasts of the Indian sea, either of the islands or the continent. The French at once recognise in the first of these two nations the inhabitants of India; and what other nation will the light fantastical clothing, the headdress with feathers, suit so well? Respecting the other nation, they have not ventured to give an opinion; but Herodotus seems to explain who they are. If the first are Indians, the others are their neighbours, the Asiatic Ethiopians, that is to say, the inhabitants of the coasts of Gedrosia and Carmania. "The Asiatic Ethiopians," says Herodotus⁸⁸, "were dressed much like the Indians; but they wore on their head the skin from the forehead of the horse, with the ears left on: the ears of the horse are left standing quite upright; but as defensive armour they had cranes' skins instead of shields."

I leave my readers to judge of the correctness of this interpretation. It is not of so much importance to know exactly who these nations were, as to know that they were inhabitants of southern countries on the Indian sea. And since the probabilities are so strong and so many

⁸⁸ HEROD. vii. 70.

in favour of this opinion, we can scarcely any longer consider the traditions of the Egyptian priests respecting the naval expeditions of the ancient Egyptian rulers, whether led by Sesos-tris alone or by others into these seas, as fables ; and that primeval connection between the lands about the Indian ocean, especially between India and Egypt, receives thereby a confirmation, which a short time ago we should scarcely have been justified in hoping for.

But the representation of the land battles give a still more magnificent idea of the extensive warlike expeditions and wide dominions of the rulers of ancient Thebes. They seem more frequent than the naval engagements ; they are found on all the buildings, which we have designated as imperial palaces ; as well on those at Karnac and Luxor as of Medinet Abou, on the palace of Osymandyas, and even in the tomb of the kings. But they everywhere confirm the remark which I have made above⁸⁹ ; that there is in every palace a series of representations depicted on the walls, as we discover the departure of the king, the battle, the victory, the triumphs, always ending in religious processions. Neither does there seem any room to doubt, but that the scenes in the various palaces again form a general mythological cycle ; as art among the Egyptians availed itself of a series of traditions, relative

⁸⁹ See above, p. 220, sqq.

to the early heroic deeds of the nation and its rulers. Our information on this point would be more accurate if we had more complete copies of these war-scenes. As it is, we must confine our attention to what we see in the engravings before us, and learn from the descriptions.

And although limited to this, it will be perceived that the war-scenes portrayed, are of very different kinds, and represent very different nations.

With regard to the latter, it is impossible to be mistaken in considering them as Asiatic nations. Every thing reminds us that both Egyptian art and mythology, sought their favourite subjects rather in Asiatic than in African history. The figure and dress of the conquered nations are Asiatic. Although the Egyptians are always represented without beards, their enemies have them, and usually long garments. The latter however are variously fashioned. They have, for the most part, those full tunics so general in the East; but in the triumphal pageant on the walls of Medinet Abou, the prisoners wear a kind of surtout⁹⁰ of blue and green stripes, covering only the back, and under it another shorter garment. Their accoutrements and weapons are not less characteristic than their dress. In this respect the most striking difference is in the shields.

⁹⁰ Plate xii. vol. ii.

Those of the Egyptians are larger, and usually of a square form, rounded on one side : indeed, in the attack of a fortress, they made use of such immense shields as nearly covered the whole body⁹¹ ; exactly such as Xenophon describes in his times⁹². The shields of the enemies, on the other hand, are sometimes round and sometimes square ; but always of a small size (γέρρα). In the armament on the reliefs of Luxor, Hamilton recognises the *coats of mail*⁹³, which always were common in Middle Asia ; and occasionally, in the headdress, the Persian tiara⁹⁴. The weapons for attack are of so many kinds and forms, that it is difficult to come to any precise conclusion respecting them. Let us, however, compare the variously-shaped swords of the Egyptians with those of their foes. They are sometimes long and sometimes short ; now straight, and now in the form of a scimitar. The darts, missiles, and arrows are also of various descriptions. The warriors sometimes appear with only a single javelin, and at other times with several.

But a still more particular attention is due to the war-chariots which were in use both among the Egyptians and their enemies. They have but two wheels, and are drawn by two horses. Those of the Egyptians usually carry only one man each (though there may be ex-

⁹¹ Plate xxxi. vol. ii.⁹² XENOPH. *Cyrop.* I. vi. Op. p. 158.⁹³ HAMILTON, p. 125.⁹⁴ HAMILTON, p. 147.

ceptions); among the Asiatics they generally carry two, or even three, as the driver is distinguished from the warriors. In these may be recognised the ancient form of the war-chariots as described by Homer, and which, according to Xenophon, were common among the Medes, Syrians, and Arabians; until Cyrus made an improvement by introducing, instead of them, chariots with scythes and four wheels⁹⁵.

It would be a rash and fruitless undertaking to attempt to point out more accurately the particular tribes or nations by their arms and clothing⁹⁶. We shall gain more by terminating the inquiry by a few general remarks.

The scene of the wars and conquests of the Egyptian rulers is laid, by their national traditions, chiefly in Assyria (which also included Babylon), in Bactria, and India, consequently in those countries of Asia most famous for their commerce, and, therefore, for possessing that opulence which usually most excites the cupi-

⁹⁵ XENOPH. *Cyrop.* I. vi.; *Op.* p. 152.

⁹⁶ The reader will easily perceive that I have not neglected to compare the nations mentioned by HERODOTUS, i. 6, with the figures of Persepolis. But the results are too uncertain for them to have a place here. It is however certain, that the nations represented must be, for the most part, from the south, as their dress is too light for a northern climate. None of them wear trowsers (*ἀναξυρίδες*, or *capotes*), as many northern nations do, whom Herodotus has described. But who can determine whether the coloured coats designate Medes or Bactrians? (according to Herodotus both these nations wore such.) The same may be said of the weapons and accoutrements, and even of the headdress. They often differ, and the latter is frequently indistinctly represented.

dity of conquest. These countries, besides, are situated on the great rivers, the Ganges and the Indus, the Oxus, Tigris, and Euphrates. It is certainly worthy of remark, that the scene of the battles and victories on those reliefs is usually near a river, which is clearly portrayed⁹⁷. Which of those streams is meant upon every occasion, it may be impossible to decide; but it can hardly be doubted but it is one of them, most likely the Euphrates; and Egyptian art here again accords with Egyptian tradition. Xenophon, moreover, informs us, that it was customary for the Assyrians to surround their camps with fosses⁹⁸. Is there not here, where we see the tents on the other side, one of these⁹⁹?

One representation which frequently occurs, is the storming of a fortress¹⁰⁰. Where this may have each time taken place we will not attempt to decide, but this also transports us into Asia. We know from the history of Alexander's expedition, how much Bactria, as well as India, abounded in such mountain fortresses¹⁰¹.

Egyptian art seems to have paid much attention to variety in representing these scenes of war. If we collect the accounts of the French and those of Hamilton, there scarcely remains any great warlike scene which is not here repre-

⁹⁷ HAMILTON, p. 116; *Descript.* p. 61, 139.

⁹⁸ XENOPH. *Cyrop.* lib. iii.; *Op.* p. 80. In the palace of Osymandyas, *Descript.* plate ii. 31.

⁹⁹ HAMILTON, p. 45.

¹⁰⁰ So in Luxor, HAMILTON, p. 115.

¹⁰¹ Remember the castle Clornus and others.

sented. Sometimes it is the commencement of the contest in an open plain, sometimes the near approach, sometimes the victory obtained on one side, and flight on the other; now the struggle of the armies, now of the leaders in single combat, and of these sometimes in their chariots, and sometimes on foot. Now the scene changes to the storming of a fortress, then the taking of a town by assault, with a representation of all the horrors which usually accompany it; sometimes the chariots alone are engaged, and at others the main bodies advance against each other on foot. All this undoubtedly presupposes a great abundance of traditions; and perhaps also of poetry, to which these traditions furnished plenty of materials, if not epic, at least of ballads.

On the walls of the imperial palaces, therefore, the Egyptians read the early history of their nation and its rulers. They are hitherto the only nation known to us that have ventured to represent such great historical subjects in sculptures, and this with a success surpassing all expectation. Although unacquainted with the rules of perspective, they make up for this defect, as we are told by an eyewitness, by the boldness and strength of their drawings, and force of expression. Hamilton speaks in raptures of the above-mentioned representation of the surprise and capture of a town on the walls of the palace of Osymandyas¹⁰²: some of the women rush

¹⁰² HAMILTON, p. 135, 136.

forward and beg for quarter, whilst others try to escape with their property. The father of a family lifts up his hands to petition for the life of his wives and children, but in vain! a blood-thirsty soldier has already slaughtered the eldest son! How different are our ideas of Egyptian art now from what they were when we formed our judgment of it from a few idols! Are they not, in fact, enlarged almost in the same proportion as our notions respecting the ancient rulers of Egypt, and the extent of their dominions?

The historical reliefs, however, comprise only a small part of the sculptures on the walls: most of them relate to religious rites; all those in the temples, for example, and many in the palaces and catacombs. Of these I shall only notice here such as refer to the immediate objects of our attention. If farther proofs were still wanted of the close and indissoluble connection between religion and politics, they might be found here in abundance. The interior and exterior walls are covered with sculpture, which represent processions, or the offering of sacrifices and gifts. The conjecture that the circle of divinities to whose honour temples were erected, was of less extent in the Thebaid than it afterwards became in Middle and Lower Egypt, is completely confirmed. This circle is composed of Ammon, Osiris (often with the symbol of virility), Isis, and Florus¹⁰³. The first two, most probably the

¹⁰³ Thus as an emblem of fruitfulness, a representation so often prevailing: see particularly plate iii. 4, 5, 6, and plate xlvii.

same in their origin, and only separated by the farther development of the religion of the priests, are the ruling divinities: although some others occur in the paintings, they only appear as inferior subordinate deities. Osiris seems at the same time to be the prototype of the king. The same emblems which decorate the gods, are not unfrequently conferred upon the monarch; not only the same headdress, with the serpent, but also the same attributes, the rod, and what is called the key, the sign of initiation into the mysteries, which must have been its original meaning¹⁰⁴, and, indeed, even the royal banner. The priests pay the same honours to the king as the latter pays again to the gods. This is not the case with any other deity.

Every part of these representations shows us the dependence in which the kings stood to the priests. Their caste evidently appears as the highest; and there is no doubt but that at the periods in which these temples were erected, the caste of the priests was esteemed higher than that of the warrior caste, which nevertheless forms so distinguished a feature in these pictures¹⁰⁵. The priest caste consider the king, as it were, their property; he is initiated into

¹⁰⁴ The French maintain it to be the hoe, and the plough made thereof, *Descript.* p. 27. I take it to be the sign of consecration, since all gods, priests, kings consecrated as priests, wear it, and they exclusively.

¹⁰⁵ This superiority of the priest caste was, I believe, effected by religion. Some have spoken of a struggle between the two castes, in which the caste of priests were the conquerors; but I find no sure authority for it.

their mysteries. This scene is repeated more than once¹⁰⁶. In it he receives the priestly headdress, the high cap with which Osiris himself is decorated, and appears in solemn processions. Whenever the king shows himself in public (martial expeditions and battles excepted), he is constantly accompanied and surrounded by priests. They are usually known by their shaven heads and long robes. Different grades however exist amongst them, which are mostly indicated by the headdress and the shape of their garments. Both are very striking. The headdresses¹⁰⁷ not only show the rank, but some seem peculiar to certain ceremonies, and change accordingly. Among the headdresses must be reckoned the masks of animals, in which the priests appear on certain occasions, particularly at initiations¹⁰⁸. They are undoubtedly masks taken from the sacred animals. The manner of dressing the hair is equally various. It is very remarkable that, according to Hamilton's account, some are still in use among the *Ababdés*¹⁰⁹. Others are so artificial that even our ablest hair dressers would be puzzled to imitate them; and in some cases there can be no doubt but that false hair or wigs¹¹⁰ are seen here, as well as in the most ancient Indian monuments at Elephantis, but much more artificial and elegant.

Another field opens itself here for divines, if

¹⁰⁶ Plate xiii. vol. ii.; xxxiv. iii.

¹⁰⁷ Compare plate xxxvii. vol. iii.

¹⁰⁹ HAMILTON, p. 27.

¹⁰⁸ Plate xiii. vol. ii.

¹¹⁰ Plate iii. 67, No. 6.

they would like to compare the religious notions of ancient Thebes with the descriptions given by the Jews of their sanctuaries, the tabernacle, the temple, and the sacred utensils.

This is not the place for a comparison of this kind; but how many things described in the Scriptures do we find in these engravings! the ark of the covenant (here carried in procession), the cherubim with their extended wings, the holy candlesticks, the shewbread, and many parts of the sacrifices¹¹¹. In the architecture itself a certain similarity is instantly recognised, although among the Jews every thing was on a smaller scale; besides which there was this important difference, that the building was as much of wood as stone. Egypt had no Lebanon with cedars. Wood nevertheless was used in Egyptian temples for ornaments, as is proved by the masts with their pennants flying before them on the great pylones¹¹², and by Herodotus's account of the wooden colossal statues of the chief priests in the sanctuary of Thebes¹¹³ (probably colossal pilaster-caryatides). Then what works of art in brass must have decorated these colossal temples of the Egyptians if we estimate them in proportion to what was contained in the smaller temples of the Jews, beginning with the tremendous gates of the pylones to the innermost sanctuary! We should

¹¹¹ See for instance, plate xlv. vol. ii.

¹¹² See the title plate according to plate lvii. vol. iii.

¹¹³ HEROD. ii. 143.

here have a view of new wonders, if time and the avarice of crowned and uncrowned robbers had not left this to be altogether supplied by imagination.

II. *Fragments of the history of Thebes.*

All who are acquainted with the materials that are left for a history of the Pharaohs ¹¹⁴, with their nature and the use that has been made of them, must be fully aware that no continuous history, with any claim to authenticity, can be compiled of any single state of Egypt, previously to the time of Psammetichus; and this includes even the largest and most splendid among them, the kingdom of Thebes. The dynasties of Manetho, it is true, are not to be put on a footing with the dynasties of the Indians. The Egyptian priests at least endeavoured to obtain an accurate chronology; and there is no reason to suppose their historical accounts are at all derived from poets. *Epic poetry* was never native or common in Egypt; or was at most confined to a few historic songs drawn from their holy writings. We must not therefore, as in the case of the Indians, give up all hopes of arriving at a farther historical certainty, if the deciphering of the inscriptions on the monuments should successfully proceed. If the work of Manetho had reached us complete, it might serve as a

¹¹⁴ See p. 208, and Appendix iii.

foundation; but in the scanty extracts that are left of it so many discrepancies occur in the dates, from the mistakes of copiers, that no continued history can be founded upon them. No attempts therefore at a fresh arrangement of these dynasties must be expected here (all that could be said with any probability upon the subject has been said by *Marsham* and *Gatterer*.) I shall confine myself solely to the bringing together what we know of the brilliant period of this state as set forth on its monuments.

Notwithstanding it would be hopeless to attempt a continued chronology of the history of this state, yet a general settlement of the times in which its flourishing period happened cannot be dispensed with. This cannot be taken from the monuments, because they in general are destitute of dates; but must be gathered from the statements of ancient writers, in connection with the monuments, so far as the architecture and the names of their founders sculptured thereon will give us any assistance. The more exact chronology, however, depends upon fixing the time of two rulers, of Sesostris, or as he was called, according to Manetho's testimony, Rameses or Ramesses, which name he always bears on the monuments; and of Shishak, the contemporary of Rehoboam, mentioned in the annals of the Jews; of whom I shall again have occasion to speak. The confounding of these two, for which there was no other reason but that of endeavouring to find the name of

Sesostris in the Jewish history, has occasioned great confusion. All the Greek writers agree in placing the age of Sesostris previously to the Trojan war¹¹⁵, thus before 1200 B. C. But we may go back a step farther. We have authentic testimony, that Sesostris not only lived previously to that time, but previously to the age of Minos. This is found in Aristotle¹¹⁶, who calls him much more ancient than Minos; and as the age of the latter cannot be placed later than 1400 B. C., it follows, that we may suppose Sesostris to have lived 1500 B. C. To fix his reign to a year, or even to a dozen years, cannot be expected. This Sesostris, or Rameses, was the first king in the nineteenth dynasty¹¹⁷; and the preceding, the

¹¹⁵ The passages in DIODORUS, i. 66, 71; STRABO, 1115, 1138, as collected by ZOEGA, *de Obeliscis*, p. 578, note 15; cf. p. 600, etc.

¹¹⁶ ARISTOT. *Pol.* vii. 10. πολὺ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν ἢ Σεσώστριος.

¹¹⁷ Here seems to be a contradiction, since Manetho places one Sesostris in the twelfth dynasty, and, indeed, with an addition, which evidently applies to the Sesostris of Diodorus and Herodotus, from which it would follow, that he could not be the Sesostris of the nineteenth dynasty. The passage is this: "Sesostris annis XLVIII. quem quatuor cubitorum et palmarum trium duorumque digitorum procerum fuisse dicunt. [Hic annis novem totam Asiam subegit, Europæque partes usque ad Thraciam, atque ubique monumenta, quarumcunque gentium potitus est, erexit; fortium quidem virorum formas virili specie, ignavorum vero muliebribus membris in cippis insculpsit; adeo ut ab Ægyptiis post Osirim habitus sit.] EUSEB. *Chron.* p. 211. The whole twelfth dynasty, therefore, was said to be interpolated. But such violent means are not wanted. It cannot be denied but the words which I have enclosed in [], are an addition from Herodotus and Diodorus, which were inserted into the text from the margin. We dare maintain this with more certainty, since we know from JOSEPHUS, p. 1039, that Manetho profited not by Herodotus, but rather contradicted him whenever he could. But that a Sesostris should occur in the twelfth,

eighteenth, consisting of fourteen kings, contains in the latter part some princes whose reigns were very glorious, such as Thutmosis, Amenophis, etc., comprising altogether above a century. Taking this into account, we should place the beginning of the splendid period of the empire of Thebes, when its rulers after the expulsion of the shepherd kings were sole monarchs of Egypt, about 1700 B. C.; and, supposing the expeditions and conquests of the Ethiopian rulers, Sabaco and Tarhaco, to have happened between 100 and 700 B. C. as we have placed them in the first volume¹¹⁸, from a comparison with the Jewish history, we have a period of almost one thousand years given us for the erection of these stupendous monuments, a space of time nearly about what we considered, in their description, necessary for that purpose; and during which the Egyptian Thebes, according to the Jewish annals, and the songs of the Ionian bard, was the capital of the mightiest empire, and the centre of the civilized world. But, according to Manetho, the whole period, from the beginning of the eighteenth to the end of the twenty-fourth dynasties, which was overthrown by the above-mentioned Ethiopian conquerors, amounts to nine hundred and eighty-eight years, of which the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dy-

dynasty, ought not to surprise us, since the name of other Egyptian kings are often found more than once.

¹¹⁸ Page 410.

nasties comprise seven hundred and twelve years of Thebes alone. So that if we throw out of our computation the two following dynasties of Bubartus and Tanis, whose connection with Thebes cannot be determined, there will still remain seven or eight hundred years for the dynasties of Thebes; and the erection of the earliest of these monuments, between 1600 and 800 B. C., is confirmed both by history and the names of the Pharaohs sculptured upon them. Thus they approach very nearly the period of history, and blend with it. And although no minuter details be here ventured upon, and it be even admitted that this statement may go back a century too much or too little, the first hypothesis, founded on the explanation of the zodiacs, and which assigns to those monuments an antiquity of several thousand years more, is completely overthrown; and this alone, I think, will be allowed to be a great advantage. We confine our observations here to the period during which all the Egyptian states were united into one empire, under the dominion of the Pharaohs at Thebes, and afterwards at Memphis. That these several states had existed separately long before this, is proved both by the seventeen preceding dynasties of Manetho, and the Jewish annals; for these latter not only make mention of this nation, but also relate that their ancestor, Abraham, had visited it almost two thousand years before our era, and met with an empire in Lower Egypt, although

it appears not to have been so highly civilized then as it was afterwards in the time of Joseph. If these states owed their existence to temples, as above stated, architecture must undoubtedly have been much older in Egypt; an observation strikingly confirmed by the fact, that among the materials of the present monuments, some have been found taken from earlier monuments, and exhibiting the same art.

I need not repeat what has been said upon another occasion respecting the origin of Thebes as a colony of Meroë. In confirmation of it I may however observe, that this origin was celebrated by an annual procession of the priests with the statue of Ammon. "Every year," says Diodorus¹¹⁹, "the sanctuary of Ammon is taken over the river to the Libyan side, consequently from the temple of Karnac, whence it is brought back after a few days, as though the god returned from Ethiopia." This tour I take to be represented on one of the great reliefs in the temple of Karnac¹²⁰: the holy ark of Ammon is here seen on the river fully equipped, and being towed along by another. It is thus performing a voyage. This festival must have been highly celebrated, as even Homer (which was not doubted by antiquity) alluded to it, when he mentions the voyage of Zeus to the Ethiopians, and his absence for twelve days¹²¹. That

¹¹⁹ DIODORUS, i. p. 110.

¹²⁰ *Descript.* table iii. 33.

¹²¹ *Iliad*, i. 423.

it was common for the colonial gods to pay such visits to those of the parent states (which surely proved their origin), is well known from antiquity in general. The forms, nevertheless, varied; as they were sometimes paid in such processions as these, and sometimes by solemn embassies.

To fix the time of the foundation of Thebes is utterly impossible, but there are abundant proofs of its high antiquity. If in the time of Abraham the cultivation of Egypt had spread as far as the Delta, that of Upper Egypt must have long previously been advancing. According to Diodorus's narrative, the foundation of the chief temple of Ammon took place before the building of the city¹²²; and similar but older materials are discovered to have been used in raising the walls of the very ancient temple at Karnac¹²³. The antiquity of this state, therefore, must certainly be carried back many centuries previously to the time of Abraham; and this is confirmed both by the accounts of Manetho, and the number of royal sepulchres, amounting, according to Strabo, to forty-seven. These give, if each reign be averaged at twenty years, nearly one thousand years¹²⁴. Manetho, previously to the eighteenth dynasty, the beginning of which falls between 1700 and 1600 B. C.,

¹²² DIODORUS, i. p. 54.

¹²³ *Descript.* p. 269.

¹²⁴ In France there have been thirty-five kings in eight hundred and forty years, beginning with Hugh Capet.

has five other Theban dynasties, the eleventh, the twelfth, thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, whose duration will not amount to less than one thousand two hundred years; we have, therefore, in the whole about two thousand eight hundred years before the commencement of our era. We must rest satisfied with this chronology until some new decipherings of the monumental inscriptions shall substitute a more correct and certain one.

Conformably to the plan laid down, I shall confine my attention to the eighteenth and following dynasties of Manetho¹²⁵, and to those Pharaohs who immortalized themselves by their deeds and their monuments, in the period preceding the subjugation of Egypt by Sabaco the Ethiopian. The inscription at Abydus, copied by Caillaud, certainly mounts up to the sixteenth dynasty; but it gives only the titles, and not the names of the kings¹²⁶.

Manetho begins his eighteenth dynasty with Amosis or Thutmosis; the first, however, whose

¹²⁵ The eighteenth dynasty in Manetho comprises (according to EUSEBIUS, p. 215) fourteen rulers: Amosis, twenty-five years; Chebron, thirteen years; Amenophis, twenty-one years; Memphres, twelve years; Misphatmosis, twenty-five years; Thutmosis, nine years; Amenophis II., thirty-one years; Orus, twenty-eight years; Achencheres, sixteen years. Under him is placed the departure of Moses. Acherres, eight years; Cherres, fifteen years; Armais (Danaus), five years; Ramesses (*Ægyptus*) sixty-eight years; Amenophis III., forty years. The nineteenth dynasty comprised eight kings: Sethos (Sesostris), fifty-five years; Rampses, sixty-six years; Amenepes, eight years; Amnemenes, twenty-six years; Thuoris (Homer's Polybus), seven years: under him the destruction of Troy.

¹²⁶ CHAMPOLLION, *Precis*, p. 245.

name has yet been found on the monuments, is the third of this dynasty, namely, Amenophis I. As, however, there were many who bore this name, it remains merely a probable conjecture, whether he was really the third, or some other of the same name. Champollion, however, thinks it possible to prove it with certainty from the legends of the other kings¹²⁷. His name is found on the great temple at Karnac; but his dominion must already have extended beyond the boundaries of Egypt, for his name and title have been discovered on the Nubian monuments, in the sanctuary of the temple at Amada, above Syene¹²⁸.

The fourth king of this dynasty in Manetho, is Mispframuthosis, or rather Mispfra-Thutmosis¹²⁹. Josephus, following Manetho¹³⁰, recounts that he succeeded in driving back the Hyksos to the confines of Egypt, shutting them up in their fortress Avaris, and besieging it. Neither his name nor title have yet been discovered on the monuments.

He was succeeded by his son Thutmosis, who entirely delivered the country from the Hyksos, by extorting an agreement from them in their fortress, the condition of which was, that they should leave Egypt and withdraw to Syria¹³¹. His name and title are found in the temple of Amada, which he must have com-

¹²⁷ CHAMPOLLION, *Precis*, p. 240.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 246.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* p. 1040.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* l. c.

¹³⁰ JOSEPHUS, p. 1040.

pleted¹³². Under his reign, therefore, Nubia, at least the lower part of it, must have been included in the empire.

His successor, Amenophis II., the seventh king of the eighteenth dynasty, was still more celebrated: his reign, according to Manetho, lasted thirty-one years. He was the same with the Memnon of the Greeks, from whose statue a sound is said to have issued. The truth of this statement is confirmed by such respectable evidence, that it cannot be doubted. "The Thebans maintain," says Pausanias¹³³, "that the colossus does not represent Memnon, but Phamenophis, one of their native kings." This is again proved by an inscription still extant upon the statue: "I, P. Balbinus, have heard the divine voice of Memnon, or Phamenophis¹³⁴." The reign of this Amenophis, therefore, falls immediately after the final expulsion of the Hyksos; when Egypt was restored to her former state and laws. The old national religion, the worship of Ammon and his temple, was re-established in its pristine splendour soon after the country was rid of these troublesome strangers. The long reign of this monarch was favourable to it. In his title he is therefore called beloved of Ammon¹³⁵; and his name itself

¹³² CHAMPOLLION, p. 241.

¹³³ Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Οἰβαῖοι λέγουσι· Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, οὗ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἦν. PAUSAN. p. 101.

¹³⁴ Ἐκλυον ἀνδρίσαντος ἐγὼ Πούβλιος Βάλβινος φωνὰς τὰς θείας Μέμνονος ἢ Φαμένωφ. Ph is the Coptic article.

¹³⁵ CHAMPOLLION, p. 237.

probably expresses something similar¹³⁶, for it was a common custom in Egypt, not only with kings but with private individuals, to derive their name from deities, or to form compounds taken from them¹³⁷. It therefore seems very natural that in this reign should have been commenced the building of those great temples and the works connected with them. A number of inscriptions, with his name and title clearly attest such to have been the case; and these are found not only in Thebes, but at a considerable distance in Nubia, which, therefore, must have bowed to his sceptre. We learn from these inscriptions that he founded the great sanctuary, and the most ancient portion of the palace of Luxor in Thebes¹³⁸. His name often occurs, as may be easily imagined, on the ruins of the Memnonium, even upon a statue found there by Belzoni. This monarch was also the founder of the temple of Ammon-Chnubis, in Elephantis, and is called there, “beloved by Chneph or Chnubi¹³⁹.” His name is again found in one of the royal vaults, the only one lying to the west; which certainly tends to prove that this tomb belonged to him. He must also have been a conqueror, and extended his territory to the southern boundaries of Nubia; for the temple at Soleb, the most southern of this country,

¹³⁶ CHAMPOLLION, p. 238.

¹³⁷ As Petammon, Retosiris, etc., which are similar to our Theophilus, etc. CHAMPOLLION, p. 109.

¹³⁸ CHAMPOLLION, p. 237.

¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 238.

bears his royal legend, with reliefs of prisoners from various nations ¹⁴⁰.

Among his successors the name of Ramesses is the most conspicuous. This name, however, was borne by four Pharaohs, of whom the first two belonged to the eighteenth, and the third and fourth to the nineteenth dynasty. The first of this name ¹⁴¹, was expelled by his brother, after having reigned five years, and is said to be identified with Danaus, the leader of the colony to Argos in Peloponnesus.

He was succeeded by his brother Ramesses II., whose long reign of sixty-eight years is one of the most remarkable. He bears the surname of Miammon, "he who loves Ammon," to distinguish him from the legend, "the beloved of Ammon." He was the founder of the palace of Medinet Abou at Thebes ¹⁴²; and the battles which are the subject of the reliefs upon it, leave us no room to doubt that he was a warrior and conqueror. The fifth of the royal vaults belongs to him: in it the sarcophagus of red granite was found, the cover of which, with the picture and legend of the king, is now in the museum at Cambridge ¹⁴³.

He was succeeded by Amenophis, the last ruler of the eighteenth dynasty, to whom Manetho ascribes a reign of forty years. It will be

¹⁴⁰ CHAMPOLLION, p. 239. See the first vol. p. 361.

¹⁴¹ His name is corrupted into Armias and Armes.

¹⁴² CHAMPOLLION, p. 227.

¹⁴³ Ibid. p. 228.

seen from what we have said above, that he was the third of this name. His reign, however, was not so fortunate or glorious as that of his predecessors. The Hyksos ventured to renew their attacks upon Egypt. Amenophis, not thinking himself able to withstand them, confided his son Ramesses, aged five years, to a friend, and withdrew into Ethiopia, the king of which was his tributary, and friendly towards him. Here he assembled his forces, marched back to Egypt, and, assisted by his son and successor, expelled the conquering shepherds¹⁴⁴. This laid the foundation of the splendid period which commenced under his successor; and this is probably the reason why Manetho concludes his eighteenth dynasty with him.

At the head of the nineteenth dynasty stands the name of the most celebrated of all the Pharaohs. He is called Sethosis, Sesorsis, or Sesostris; and the pages of Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus bear equal testimony of his fame. On the monuments, however, he is nowhere mentioned by either of these names, on them he is called Ramesses: but that he bore both these names, Manetho himself informs us¹⁴⁵; and other writers likewise assert that the son of Amenophis was called Ramesses¹⁴⁶. Se-

¹⁴⁴ JOSEPHUS, p. 1041.

¹⁴⁵ JOSEPHUS, p. 1053. Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Σέθων, τὸν καὶ Ραμέσσην ὠνομασμένον. CHAMPOLLION, p. 227; cf. TACIT. *Annal.* ii. 61.

¹⁴⁶ Especially Chæremon in his history of Egypt: cf. JOSEPHUS, p. 1057.

sostris means, by way of eminence, the great great king of the Egyptians.

We learn from Diodorus ¹⁴⁷, that the traditions respecting him were adorned and exaggerated by verse; we therefore must consider what is stated respecting him as nothing more than a poetical history, highly ornamented by the traditions of the priests. But Sesostris, or Ramesses the Great (as we may very properly call him, to distinguish him from his namesakes), is not to be considered as a mere creature of the imagination: that he is not simply a symbolical being, but historically a monarch of Egypt, is so obvious, as to render it almost unnecessary to mention it. But if it be desired to ascertain how much related of him is matter of history, and how much not, the best information will be derived from the monuments, as well from those within Egypt as those which he erected in foreign countries in commemoration of his exploits, and which we can authenticate as relating to him, partly from credible historians, and partly from intrinsic evidence. There is a perfect agreement here between the monuments and history, as the latest discoveries convince us, that the name of no Pharaoh so often appears upon them, or with so much splendour, as the name and title of Ramesses the Great. "Beloved and confirmed of Ammon,—son of the god of the sun,—ruler of the

¹⁴⁷ DIODORUS, i. p. 62.

obedient people," are the titles here frequently bestowed upon him.

Herodotus, who derived his information from the priests at Memphis, enumerated, in speaking of Sesostris and the other Pharaohs mentioned by him, only the presents they gave to the temple of Phtha in this capital: which in this instance consisted of six tremendous colossal statues; two of himself and wife, each thirty yards high; and four of his children, each twenty¹⁴⁸. According to Diodorus he founded many great buildings; erecting in the towns of Egypt temples for the principal gods they honoured. Thebes in particular enjoyed his favours. Two obelisks, one hundred and twenty yards high, containing an account of his treasures and the nations he had conquered, were placed before the temple of Ammon; and a new and splendid ark for the oracle of cedar¹⁴⁹, gilded outside and silvered within, was bestowed on the interior. All these glories are vanished; but his name still lives on many of the monuments of Thebes. It has been discovered in many parts of the great palace of Karnac; particularly on those massive pillars in the immense saloon above described, which seems almost entirely to have been his work¹⁵⁰. It is again found on the great pylones and pillars in the first court of the palace of Luxor,

¹⁴⁸ HEROD. ii. 108.

¹⁴⁹ DIODORUS, i. p. 67.

¹⁵⁰ CHAMPOLLION, p. 220.

as likewise on one side of the obelisks at the same place (the other bears the legend of Thutmosis); finally, almost in every part of what is called the tomb of Osymandyas, the greater part of which, if not the whole, must certainly be attributed to him¹⁵¹; and without Thebes, on the palace of Abydus, the Flaminian obelisk in Rome; and on many other monuments. Nubia in particular is full of them: nearly on every section of the great temple of Ipsambul, of Kalabshé, Derri, and Seboa, his name occurs, and pictures of his exploits¹⁵². What a gigantic mind must his have been, that could execute so many and such marvellous works!

The expeditions and conquests of Ramesses the Great are partly certain, and partly more or less probable. Among the former I class those upon which monuments and writers agree; among the latter, those only mentioned by historians. There is no question but that he erected monuments to himself in the countries he conquered, or engraved his deeds on those which he found there already built.

After Arabia, that is to say, the eastern mountainous country of Egypt, was subdued¹⁵³; a naval expedition on the Arabian gulf and the India sea is mentioned as his next undertaking¹⁵⁴. Herodotus, having his accounts from

¹⁵¹ See above, p. 233. Neither Manetho nor Herodotus has the name of Osymandyas.

¹⁵² CHAMPOLLION, *Precis*, p. 220.

¹⁵³ DIODORUS, i. p. 63.

¹⁵⁴ HEROD. ii. 102.

the priests, represents him as the first who ventured with a fleet of war galleys on the Arabian gulf and Indian sea. The truth of this narrative can scarcely be doubted; especially since we learn from the monuments, that the Pharaohs maintained a naval power in these quarters. Their conquests were confined to the coasts, as appears from the expressions of Herodotus. Those who know the narrow extent and the nature of the Indian sea, with its numerous islands and variable winds, will find nothing improbable in the statement that those expeditions extended to the western coasts of the peninsula: this, indeed, is plainly asserted by Diodorus¹⁵⁵, and confirmed by the costumes of the enemies in the sculptures.

That he subjugated Ethiopia there can be no doubt: it appears, moreover, from what has been said above, that a part of it was very early reduced under the sway of the Pharaohs, or was at least dependent upon them; and when Herodotus says that he was the only king of Egypt who ruled over Ethiopia, this is undoubtedly to be understood of all Ethiopia, as well as the most southern part of it, or Meroë. He conquered, Diodorus informs us, the Ethiopians who dwelt towards the south, and compelled them to pay him a tribute of ebony, gold, and elephants' teeth¹⁵⁶—this is confirmed by the

¹⁵⁵ See above, p. 282, the description of a naval battle.

¹⁵⁶ DIODORUS, i. p. 64.

monuments. The very remarkable scenes sculptured at Kalabshé, for a copy of which we are indebted to Gau, and which I have described and explained in the first volume¹⁵⁷, would prove this most satisfactorily, even if M. Champollion had not since discovered the legend of this king. Not only the battle and victory are here represented, but also the offering of the booty and tributes. The captive queen, deprived of her trinkets¹⁵⁸, is beseeching (accompanied by her two sons) the conqueror for mercy. The tribute mentioned by Diodorus is seen to consist of ivory, gold, and quantities of ebony; tame and wild animals; apes and birds of various kinds; even the giraffe from the heart of Africa is introduced. How was it possible to characterise the extent of conquests in a more striking manner. We have another remarkable witness, proving at once that an expedition was made by land and by sea, as well as its extent, given in Strabo¹⁵⁹. "At the narrow entrance of the Arabian gulf," he says, "is situated the little town of Derar, inhabited by Ichthyophagi. Monuments of the Egyptian Sesostris, who first subdued the country of the Troglodytes, are

¹⁵⁷ Page 367.

¹⁵⁸ In the first volume I have explained the captive queen from the circumstance, that in Meroë queens could sit on the throne. But we need not have recourse to that. On the preceding relief the captive king is represented as murdered by the conqueror. It was therefore natural that she appeared as a widow.

¹⁵⁹ STRABO, p. 1114. His information is probably derived from Agatharchides's treatise on the Red sea.

said to stand here with sacred inscriptions, setting forth his voyage to Arabia." And in another passage¹⁶⁰, he "traversed Ethiopia as far as the land of cinnamon, where even now monumental columns with inscriptions are visible." We entertain hopes, if a modern traveller should succeed in reaching this place, or the old Egyptian port of Adule, that those monuments would still be found.

It is difficult to say any thing certain respecting the campaigns of the Egyptian conqueror in Asia and Europe. Herodotus here also is our safest guide. He saw and noticed the monuments erected by him, with Egyptian sacred writing upon them. Although it should be denied that these were the work of Sesostris, still they were certainly erected by some Egyptian conqueror; for Herodotus could not be mistaken with regard to the writing. We know, however, of no other of the Pharaohs to whom such expeditions can be ascribed. Herodotus saw and describes these monuments first in Palestine¹⁶¹, and afterwards two rock-monuments in Asia Minor, the situation of which he minutely particularises; the statue of an armed man in Egyptian and Ethiopian accoutrements, with an inscription in hieroglyphics on the breast, signifying, "I have occupied this country." Farther, his monuments were seen in Thrace¹⁶² but not

¹⁶⁰ Page 1138.

¹⁶¹ HEROD. ii. 106.

¹⁶² Idem, ii. 103, 104.

beyond; for here he turned back. He is also said to have reached the river Phasis, and to have founded on this occasion an Egyptian colony at Colchis. We may therefore conclude with certainty, from these accounts, that his expedition took in Syria and Asia Minor, and extended to Thrace. During this period we know of no great empire in western Asia; the origin of the Assyrian is laid by Herodotus two or three centuries later¹⁶³. What, therefore, could have arrested the progress of the conqueror on this side?

The campaigns in eastern Asia, which were said to have extended to Bactria and India, are perhaps in general fictitious. Some historical foundation for them, however, is contained on the monuments. One of the scenes often repeated, is the passage of a river winding through a plain, and a fortress which the Egyptians take by assault¹⁶⁴. Now this cannot be the Nile: because the scenery is evidently not Egyptian. The next river that presents itself to our mind is the Euphrates: its serpentine course through the valley agrees very well with the river here represented. The country invaded is proved by the dress and beards of the inhabitants to be in Asia. Is it the proud Babylon that is here assaulted, or was there a Median-Bactrian empire which extended as far as this? I know of none such; but the passage over the river was

¹⁶³ About 1230, B. C.

¹⁶⁴ See above, p. 290.

evidently one of those great achievements, whose remembrance was worthy to be preserved by monuments. The opulent Babylon was certainly likely to attract a conqueror. These conquests, at all events, could hardly have been lasting, otherwise posterity would have found Egyptian monuments in these places as well as in Nubia.

The son and successor of Ramesses the Great, according to Herodotus, was called Pheron: Diodorus, however, expressly informs us of his having adopted the name of his father; and this is confirmed by Manetho, who calls him Ramesses, and gives him a reign of sixty years. His reign was a peaceable one, for according to Diodorus he did not inherit the warlike spirit¹⁶⁵ of his father; though, as his legend has also been found on the monuments, he was certainly partial to building. He is called "the confirmed of Ammon," not the one confirmed by Rê the god of the Sun, as his father was. Champollion reads his name and title on the smaller pillars of the gigantic saloon at Karnac, which he seems to have completed¹⁶⁶. It was quite agreeable to the spirit of the age, that the reign of so powerful a conqueror should be followed by such a one as this of his son: so David was succeeded by Solomon.

The most splendid period of Thebes, therefore, must have occurred between 1800 and 1300 B. C. Of the two succeeding kings Manetho

¹⁶⁵ DIODORUS, i. p. 69.

¹⁶⁶ CHAMPOLLION, p. 232.

gives only the names ; and when he says of the third, namely Thuoris, whom Homer calls Polybus, that he was contemporary with the Trojan war, it corresponds with our chronology, which places this war immediately after 1200. The nineteenth dynasty ends with this Thuoris. Of the twentieth dynasty, which included twelve kings and lasted one hundred and seventy-two years, the fragments of Manetho do not even give the names ; and of the kings¹⁶⁷ of the twenty-first, which lasted one hundred and thirty years, nothing but the names.

The first ruler of the twenty-second dynasty, Sesonchosis, becomes more interesting to us, as Champollion recognises in him the Shishak of the Jewish annals¹⁶⁸. His name Scheschonk, together with his title, "the confirmed of Ammon," is found on one of the columns of the first great court of columns in the palace of Karnac ; and the correctness of this reading is confirmed by the name (according to Manetho) of his son and successor, Osorthon, being found close by it. The identity of the name Scheschak and Shishak is very important, because it enables us to determine the chronology. Shishak was the contemporary of Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon. In the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, 970 B. C., he made war against

¹⁶⁷ They are named : Smerdis, twenty-six years ; Psusennus, forty-one years ; Nephherches, four years ; Psinnaches, nine years ; Psonines, thirty-five years. EUSEB. p. 217.

¹⁶⁸ CHAMPOLLION, p. 205.

Palestine, took Jerusalem¹⁶⁹ and pillaged it. According to the Jewish accounts the Egyptian state must have been very powerful at that time; for it is said of Shishak that he came with twelve hundred chariots of war, sixty thousand cavalry, and an innumerable body of infantry, consisting of Egyptians, Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians. His empire therefore must have extended over all these countries, and far beyond the boundaries of Egypt. In the century after him, this greatness must have declined, and the power of the rulers of Meroë, under the dynasty of Sabaco (who reigned between 800 and 700 B. C., not only over Ethiopia, but also Thebes,) must have prevailed; as, according to Manetho, the Pharaoh Bochoris, who alone occupies the twenty-fourth dynasty, was defeated, taken prisoner, and burnt alive by Sabaco¹⁷⁰.

About this time therefore, 800 B. C., ends the period of Theban might and grandeur, after having endured nearly eight centuries. The period of the great expeditions, particularly in Asia, does not seem to reach lower than the first two or three centuries after the expulsion of the Hyksos; for we have no information that extends beyond the expedition of Shishak into the neighbouring Palestine. The dominion over Ethiopia, at least the northern part, or the present Nubia, bears the only traces of a lasting

¹⁶⁹ 2 CHRONICLES, xii. 2.

¹⁷⁰ MANETHO, apud Euseb. p. 218.

conquest. We may therefore determine pretty accurately the extent and the boundaries of the empire of Thebes, with the exception of these transitory conquests.

Notwithstanding the extent of Sesostris's expeditions, there is no proof that the dominion of the Pharaohs in Asia was of long duration. That it occasionally comprised Syria, perhaps also Babylonia, and the coasts of Southern Arabia, cannot be denied. Had there however been any permanent conquest over the interior of Asia, some accounts of it would have been given in the annals of the Jews. Of Arabia, the stony region at least, must in some degree have belonged to Egypt; for this is proved by certain monuments, covered with hieroglyphics, which Niebuhr found here and copied: they may have been tombs, as he indeed considers them; but I think it more probable that they were remnants of a temple¹⁷¹. Any lasting conquests in Europe are still less to be expected.

The principal country therefore, thenucleus of the empire, was Egypt itself. That this was entirely subject to the Pharaohs of Thebes cannot be doubted: there was once a time says Herodotus¹⁷², when the whole of Egypt was called Thebes, not only the fruitful valley of

¹⁷¹ NIEBUHR's *Travels*, i. p. 237, etc. Tab. xxx—xlii. He found them at El Mocatel (mountain of inscriptions,) probably mount Hor, in the neighbourhood of Sinai.

¹⁷² HERODOTUS, ii. 15.

the Nile, but also the eastern and western borders. The eastern side usually spoken of under the name of Arabia, was subdued by Sesostris, without which indeed he could not have fitted out a fleet on the Arabian gulf; but how far the dominion of the Pharaohs extended to the west is uncertain. It undoubtedly comprised the two Oases, as is proved by the monuments upon them; it must likewise have extended beyond the limits of Egypt, because Libyans are enumerated among their subjects. That the inhabitants of Marea and Apis were still Egyptians, was formerly decided by a sentence of the Ammonian oracle¹⁷³, when they wished to be considered as Libyans. It cannot be stated exactly in what political relation Ammonium stood with Thebes; nevertheless, as it was a colony of Thebes, and the service of Ammon prevailed there, it may at least be assumed, that the relation which commonly subsisted between parent states and their colonies, when they held the same religious opinions, was in force here, although it might not amount to a complete dependence. Ammonium, so far as our present information goes, is the western boundary of the Egyptian monuments, and therefore of the Egyptian dominions. By possessing this they became neighbours of the Carthaginians. A

¹⁷³ HERODOTUS, ii. 18. The oracle was: "All that is watered by the Nile, is Egypt; and all who, from the city of Elephantis, downwards drink its water, are Egyptians." According to this, the eastern mountainous district did not belong to Egypt, nor its inhabitants to the Egyptian nation.

peaceable commercial intercourse with that nation has been pointed out in the foregoing volume; but that hostilities sometimes broke out between them, may be inferred from a remarkable passage in Ammianus Marcellinus¹⁷⁴. From this we learn, that when the power of the Carthaginians extended itself in Africa, even before the time of the great Persian empire, Carthaginian generals had surprised and pillaged Thebes; a shock from which this city had scarcely recovered at the time of its being invaded by Cambyses.

Ethiopia, however, was the mainpoint to which the rulers of Thebes directed their conquests. Monuments of their victories are still to be seen there, which render this fact unquestionable. Here there were many things to attract them. The valley of the Nile above Syene, was neither less fruitful nor less populous than in Egypt. The mountain-chain along the Arabian gulf contained, scarcely 130 or 140 miles above Syene, the most ancient gold mines in the world; and these had already been worked in the time of

¹⁷⁴ AM. MARCEL. xvii. 4. “Urbem, priscis seculis conditam, portarum centum quondam aditibus celebrem, hecatompylas Thebas—hanc inter exordia pendentis se late Carthaginis improvise excursu duces oppressere Pœnorum; posteaque reparatam Persarum ille rex Cambyses aggressus est.” The attack of the Carthaginians upon Thebes happened therefore before the time of Cambyses, in the period when Carthage was extending her dominions; probably between 600 and 550 B. C., when the powerful house of Mago stood at the head of the republic: Appendix viii. of the first vol. When Ammianus speaks of Libya and Carthage, he quotes from the works of king Juba, who drew from Carthaginian writers who treated upon inner Africa and the sources of the Nile: xxii. 4. This account perhaps is also drawn from them.

the Pharaohs. The ravages of the Nubian hordes, who inhabited these districts, might also become a frequent source of the wars which we sometimes see portrayed on the Nubian monuments. And, finally, the commercial connections existing between Egypt and Ethiopia, and exhibiting the wealth of the southern countries, were equally calculated to attract the eye of the conquerors. They do not seem however to have established a lasting dominion beyond the boundaries of Nubia ; but that it continued here for a considerable period, and particularly in the valley of the Nile, is proved by the series of monuments, with their inscriptions and reliefs, which have come under our notice in the foregoing volume. Although some of those monuments might not have been their work, but had been erected before their time ; yet the inscriptions and reliefs must be attributed to them, as they bear the impress of perfected Egyptian workmanship. Many of these edifices are too mighty to have been quickly or suddenly raised : a long period must have been spent in their completion. This series of monuments, which we ascribe to the Pharaohs, does not however extend beyond Nubia. The temple at Soleb, a little above the second cataract, is, as far as we know, the last that can be attributed to them. Egyptian dominion could not be permanently established without Egyptian religion, nor Egyptian religion without Egyptian monuments.

The dominion of the Pharaohs, then, extended only to the northern boundaries of the empire of Meroë. And notwithstanding that this empire was once overrun by the great Sesostris, its subjugation cannot have been of long duration. Both monuments and history prove this. That the former are not historical representations relating to the Pharaohs, although executed by Egyptian artists, has been shown in the foregoing volume¹⁷⁵. And the remains of the history of Meroë there collected, show that this empire never lost its independence for any length of time; nay, that in the eighteenth century B. C. it even subdued Egypt, or at least Upper Egypt, although it was voluntarily, or at the command of the oracle, relinquished by the conqueror¹⁷⁶. Thus we see on the banks of the Nile, from its sources till its waters are lost in the Mediterranean, the two powerful empires of Thebes and Meroë existing together during many centuries, under mutual relations, various and changeable, without either of them attaining an extent equal to the great empires of Asia¹⁷⁷. The extent of the empire of the Pharaohs, exclusive of the mere transitory conquests, was nearly the same as that of the present ruler of Egypt. His dominion towards the south does

¹⁷⁵ Page 408.

¹⁷⁶ HERODOTUS, ii. 139.

¹⁷⁷ If the account of the Newspapers are true, that in the district of Cordofan are found ruins with hieroglyphics, they must have belonged to the empire of Meroë, and not to Thebes. In the empire of Darfour nothing of the kind has been discovered.

not reach beyond Dongola, above Soleb ; Siwah, the ancient Ammonium, pays him tribute ; and his conquests on the Arabian coast are perhaps about equal to those of the Pharaohs. How different, however, was the state of these provinces then to what it is at present !

The population of Egypt, amounting in the time of Diodorus to no more than three millions, is stated by the same author, we know not upon what authority, to have been seven millions in the time of the Pharaohs ¹⁷⁸. If the latter is meant to include all Egypt, the statement cannot seem exaggerated, and would even be moderate if we were to limit it to the Thebaid, which indeed was at one time called Egypt. But in the first case the statement is only to be understood of the inhabitants settled in the fruitful part of Egypt, the valley of the Nile and the Delta ; we have already stated that the wandering tribes in the mountains were not reckoned among the Egyptians.

That Thebes was the usual seat of government, is shown more plainly by the ruins of its palaces, than by the testimony of historians. Although some change afterwards took place, religious notions seem to have been in such a way connected with the residence of the monarchs in this capital, that we dare not leave it unnoticed. They were closely connected with the ideas they entertained of a life after death,

¹⁷⁸ DIODORUS, i. p. 36.

The Pharaohs lived in the neighbourhood of their tombs, for these, according to the belief of the Egyptians, were their proper habitations; and the construction of these engrossed the attention of these rulers quite as much as the decoration of their palaces, of which we have a proof in the tomb of Osymandyas, near his palace, and in the caverns near Thebes. Besides, it was not a matter of indifference where a person was buried. Certain spots were held sacred, and preferred to all others; because, according to the tradition of the priests, they were the spots in which Osiris, ruler both in the upper and under world, was buried. And who wished not to rest near him? These places were numerous. In the Thebaid, besides Thebes itself, there was a small island near Philæ and Elephantis; and also Abydos, formerly called This. In Middle Egypt there was Memphis; and in the Delta Busiris. A modern critic, therefore, very justly considers these burial-places of Osiris to be the seats of the Egyptian monarchs¹⁷⁹. What a new light does this strike out, when

¹⁷⁹ CREUZER in *Commentationes ad Herod.* p. 88, etc. where the proofs are collected of what we have stated. I think this will be farther proved by my showing, that at Sais, where the last dynasty previous to the Persian conquest ruled, there was a tomb of Osiris. Herod. after saying, (ii. 169,) that the tombs of the kings of this dynasty were at Sais in the sanctuary of Minerva, adds, cap. 170, 171, etc.: "In this sanctuary, behind the temple, is the tomb of him whose name I do not consider myself at liberty to mention. But in the sanctuary stand some large obelisks, and a pond with a stone enclosure; and here are celebrated the mysteries in which the sufferings of the afore-mentioned deity are represented." That this refers to Osiris nobody will doubt who is acquainted with his mythology.

compared with the dynasties of Manetho? How strongly does this confirm the opinion given above, that these places were the earliest states of Egypt, before it was consolidated into one empire? The dynasties in Upper and Middle Egypt, of Elephantis, Thebes, This, and Memphis, are all burial-places of Osiris: those in the Delta, Mendes, Sebennytus, Tanis, and Bubastus, all lay within a few miles of Busiris; that of Sais had this sanctuary in the town itself. Let us return, however, to Thebes. That this city was the residence of the kings for centuries, is proved both by their palaces and the number of their tombs, of which, according to Strabo, there were upwards of forty. Memphis at a later period certainly became the seat of government, for we are told by Manetho of a king Athotis, and by Diodorus of a king Urchoreus¹⁸⁰, who built a palace there, which however never equalled those at Thebes. Its age is uncertain; but Diodorus farther remarks, that it was the removal of his successors to Memphis, which caused Thebes to decline. It is shown, however, in our inquiries respecting the Persians, that it was a common thing for the monarchs of the East to have more than one residence; and although the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasty might make Memphis for some time their capital, their names on the monuments of Thebes sufficiently evince that this was

¹⁸⁰ DIODORUS, i. p. 60.

the proper seat of government. As their elevation and consecration necessarily took place at Thebes, as we shall presently see, this city could not so soon have lost its right to be considered the capital of the empire.

With regard to the government, there can be no doubt but that upon the whole it always remained a hierarchy, under the dominion of the priests ; but the relation of the kings to the priesthood requires some farther explanation. Was the throne hereditary or was it elective ? As we read so often that the father was succeeded by the son, we must conclude that it was hereditary, although a later writer describes the election of a king to the throne¹⁸¹. According to his account, candidates waited during the election on the Libyan mountains, near the tombs. The royal tent was here set up ; and the priests who elected assembled. The gods were then consulted, and the election concluded ; the newly-elected king was then led with a numerous train, in a magnificent procession of gods, priests, and people, to the Nile, where the royal barge waited, in which he proceeded to the other side, to take possession of the royal palace (probably that of Karnac,) where stood the original high temple of Ammon. It is not known from what ancient writer Synesius borrowed this relation, we have no reason, however, to suppose it fictitious ; for hereditary

¹⁸¹ SYNESIUS, *Op.* p. 94.

succession, when not very strict, is compatible with the ceremony of election, as the history of Germany clearly proves. I doubt, however, whether the king was taken from the priest caste. If such had been the case, there would have been no occasion for him to enter into it after his election, and that he did so is shown by its being represented again and again on the walls of the palaces of Medinet Abou and Karnac.

It followed, as a matter of course, that the person elected, or nominated by the priests, would be very much under their control; hence it happened that nothing of importance could be undertaken till the oracle had been first consulted. In many of the processions of the oracle-ship, pictured on the walls of the temples and palaces, the king is seen coming to meet the holy ark, borne by priests, in such positions, as prove, beyond a doubt, that he comes to obtain a favourable decision from the oracle¹⁸².

But there was another circumstance, which was still more effectual than even the oracle in holding the monarchs dependent upon the priests. I mean the strict ceremonies by which their every-day life was regulated; an example of which is also found in the power exercised in a similar manner over the monarchs of Persia by the Magi. Early in the morning (as was natural in so hot a climate), says Diodorus¹⁸³, the

¹⁸² *Description*, plates xxxii. xxxvi. vol. iii. and after.

¹⁸³ DIODORUS, i. p. 81.

affairs of state were settled. The sacred ceremonies next followed. The king went to sacrifice and prayer; he was then obliged to listen while he was reminded from the sacred writings of his duties, in which the greatest possible moderation in all enjoyments was strictly inculcated. It seems probable that the personal character of the rulers had great influence with regard to the measure of this dependence; but the scenes so often recurring on the walls of the temples and palaces, leave us no room to question but that even the most powerful of the monarchs were obliged to conform to these prescriptions. The regulation of the court of the Pharaohs assisted the priests very much in the maintenance of this authority over the prince. It is well known that it was composed of the sons of the most exalted priests. No slave dared to approach the king: he was served by the courtiers just mentioned¹⁸⁴. The wives of the king were equal in rank and title with himself; queens even ruled in Egypt. The custom which was in use long before the Ptolemies, that the kings should marry their sisters, perhaps arose from a desire to prevent strangers from succeeding to the throne¹⁸⁵.

With regard to the division of the empire, it is certain that the principal country, Egypt itself, was divided into nomes, upon the origin of which I have already stated my opinion in

¹⁸⁴ DIODORUS, i. p. 80.

¹⁸⁵ Idem, i. p. 31.

a former chapter of this work. As Herodotus ascribes them to Sesostris, it is plain that they were instituted by the Pharaohs, though they could not be completely established till these monarchs became sole rulers over Egypt. The whole government of Egypt was naturally knit together by this institution¹⁸⁶. Ten nomes are enumerated in Upper Egypt, sixteen in Middle Egypt, and ten in Lower Egypt¹⁸⁷. We hear of *nomarchi* and *toparchi*¹⁸⁸, as they are called by the Greeks: the former were intrusted with the government of the separate nomes, and the latter with districts and villages¹⁸⁹.

The revenue of the Pharaohs was derived from various sources; the most important of them, however, were its landed possessions, as is clear from what has been already said respecting the division and proprietorship of lands in Egypt. It has also been proved, that lands belonging to kings and priests, were cultivated by persons who paid interest or rent for them. Diodorus¹⁹⁰ expressly tells us, that the lands of

¹⁸⁶ CHAMPOLLION, in *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, part i. 11, has collected the Egyptian names of the Nomes. The Egyptian name of Nome is Ptosch.

¹⁸⁷ DIODORUS, i. p. 84.

¹⁸⁸ STRABO, xvii. p. 1136.

¹⁸⁹ HEROD. ii. 177. From this passage it is clear that they officiated as police, since all were obliged to render a yearly account to them of their several trades or professions. Idleness was discountenanced or punished. The caste of the trades being subdivided, and each division having its own president, who of course was acquainted with each member, this task was less difficult than it would otherwise have been.

¹⁹⁰ DIODORUS, i. 85; HEROD. ii. 168.

the priests and soldiers were free from taxes or rent, which certainly was not the case with the rest. But in speaking of this ground-rent, we ought to bear in mind that the quality of the soil did not admit of its being so accurately settled as in European states. This tax was regulated in Egypt according to the produce of the soil, and this depended upon the overflowing of the river. It was determined by a measurement of the Nile; and from this we may conclude, that the same method was preserved in ancient as in modern times, namely, the ground or produce rent was fixed annually. In the present day they wait until the flood has reached its highest point; and according to its height the taxes are immediately imposed. Diodorus informs us, that it was the same in antiquity¹⁹¹. "The kings, to prevent any inconvenience that might happen from the rising of the flood, have constructed a Nilometer at Memphis. Those who manage it can measure exactly, in yards and inches, the rising and falling of the river, of which they send immediate advice to the several towns. The people by this are enabled to judge beforehand of the produce they may expect. Accounts of the yearly rise and fall of the river, have been preserved among the Egyptians from the earliest

¹⁹¹ DIODORUS, i. p. 44. The Nilometer discovered and described by the French, *Description*, vol. i., does not appear to have been constructed previous to the age of the Ptolemies, as the numbers upon it are Grecian: they may, however, have been inscribed upon it at a later period.

times." The taxes in the present day, however, are not imposed upon individuals, but upon entire towns or villages, which are obliged to answer for them. A whole township possesses the land in common, cultivates it in common, and every one whose name is inscribed in the village book is a partner, and shares the produce, as it is almost impossible that individuals should have private landed property, on account of the continual overflowings which destroy the boundaries.¹⁹² It is highly probable that this was also the case in antiquity, as nature herself seems to determine that it should be so; and when Herodotus ascribes the origin of geometry to these mensurations, it can scarcely be understood otherwise than of the mensuration of the areas of whole townships, though he might derive his conjecture from private possessions. These mensurations were undoubtedly connected with their canal system, for the construction and preservation of which considerable mathematical knowledge was required; and upon the good order in which these were maintained, the fruitfulness of the land chiefly depended. An intimate connection between these seems evident, from the canal system and the division of districts by measurements being ascribed to the

¹⁹² REYNIER, *l'Economie Politique des Egyptiens*, p. 200, etc. This assessment of the taxes upon a whole district seems to be represented at Eilethya. *Descript.* plates i. lxiii. iii. Even now each village has a *coptus*, or secretary: these secretaries are closely united, and distinct from the inhabitants, forming still a kind of caste, and probably descendants from the old caste of priests.

same ruler, Sesostris¹⁹³. Both were therefore under the management of the government, and were indeed its particular care and interest. And as Sesostris is called the great king of the Egyptians, it is to be supposed that he brought this system to its full perfection; for it lies in the nature of things that it existed to a certain degree before his time.

The gold mines of Nubia were a second source of the revenues of the Pharaohs: they were reckoned amongst the most ancient and most productive in the world, and account for the abundance of gold often spoken of in Egyptian history. Agatharchides¹⁹⁴, who visited them during the reign of Ptolemy IV. has given an accurate, and even scientific description of them. According to his account they were situated near the present mountain Alaky 22° N. lat. 51° E. long., not far from the ancient Berenice Panchrysos, as it was called in the time of the Ptolemies¹⁹⁵. They were worked by a great number of prisoners, men, women, and children, among whom the labour was divided according to their strength. This writer describes very minutely the manner in which this labour was performed. "These mines," he adds, "have already been worked for a very long time, and

¹⁹³ HEROD. ii. 108; DIODORUS, i. 66.

¹⁹⁴ AGATHARCHIDES, *de Rubro Mari*, in *Geograph. Minor*. i. p. 22. DIODORUS, i. p. 182, borrowed his account from him.

¹⁹⁵ Agatharchides has removed all doubt as to their situation. See DANVILLE, *Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, p. 274. I have also indicated their relative positions on the map to the first volume.

were discovered by the first kings of these countries. The working of them however was interrupted, when the Ethiopians, who are said to have founded Memnonium, overran Egypt, and kept possession during a long period of its towns¹⁹⁶; and again, under the dominion of the Medes and Persians. In the shafts made at that time brass implements are still found, the use of iron being then unknown. Bones also are found in great quantities, of people who were smothered in them by the falling in of the earth. The extent of these mines was such, that the subterranean passages reached to the sea."

The later accounts of the Arabian writers¹⁹⁷ give us farther information respecting these mines. We learn from them that they are situated in the country of the Bejahs, the ancient Blemmies¹⁹⁸, between Eidub and Suakin; that they abound in silver, copper, iron, and precious stones; but gold is chiefly sought for. The Pharaohs themselves made war against this country for the sake of these mines. The Greeks did the same when they were masters of Egypt; evident traces of which are still met

¹⁹⁶ Under Sabaco and Tarhaco, between 800 and 700 B. C. The Memnonium was Meroë, which was said to be Memnon's principal residence; unless we are to understand by it that of Abydos, where those conquerors probably took up their abode. STRABO, p. 1167; consult also JACOBS *on the Graves of Memnon*.

¹⁹⁷ In QUATREMÈRE DE QUINZI, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 143 and 155, also MAFRIZI.

¹⁹⁸ See the foregoing vol. p. 309.

with. "The gold mines are at Alaky¹⁹⁹, a place fifteen days' journey from the Nile; the nearest town is Essouan." It would seem probable from this, that these mines were turned to account during the sway of the Arabs: that they belonged to the empire of the Pharaohs (they were about fifty miles distant from Thebes) is clear from what we have said respecting its extent, which comprised Soleb, above the second cataract.

The Egyptian tradition which ascribed its discovery and first opening, as well as the working in metals, to the inhabitants of Thebes²⁰⁰, obtains by this a new confirmation.

I scarcely know how far we may reckon in the income derived from the mines, the precious stones known under the name of emeralds²⁰¹. Through Belzoni's researches these mines have been again found: they are situated in the Arabian mountain-chain, in the mountain Zubaca ($24\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. lat.), between twenty and thirty miles from the Arabian gulf²⁰². They are of considerable extent, and must have been worked for many ages, certainly as far back as the Egyptian

¹⁹⁹ These accounts are perfectly correct. Alaky is the Salaka in D'Anville's map, which he also affirms to be Berenice Panchrysos. The Greek name signifies "abounding in gold." Its distance from the Nile is about three hundred and fifty miles; or, for caravans, fifteen days' journey. Essouan is called the next town, not on account of its proximity to the former, the distance being two hundred and forty miles, but because no other intervenes.

²⁰⁰ DIODORUS, i. p. 19.

²⁰¹ The works on this subject are mentioned in vol. i. p. 96.

²⁰² BELZONI, *Narrative*, p. 315.

period, as remnants of Egyptian architecture are still met with on the road leading to them; and if, as we find in Theophrastus²⁰³, the commentaries of the Egyptians spoke of them, it is evident they must have been worked under the Pharaohs; and if so, it is probable that their produce was considered as belonging to the king, as the present pacha has attempted to make them, although hitherto without success. We know from what is said by the Arabian writers, that they were worked till the end of the fourteenth century²⁰⁴. Masudi calls the place *Kharbat* (in which may easily be recognised the present name, *Zubara*), and very correctly describes it as a mountainous desert in the country of the Bejahs, eight days' journey from the Nile. The emeralds, of which he enumerates four species, found at that time a ready sale in India and China.

The fisheries, in so far as they belonged to the king, must be considered as a third source of the revenues of the Pharaohs. The Nile contains abundance of fish, particularly at the time of its flood²⁰⁵. As fish formed a principal article of food, fishing was a very lucrative employment. Of what importance the fisheries were may best be learned from the words of the prophet, when he threatens Egypt with ap-

²⁰³ THEOPH. *De Lapidibus*, Op. p. 394; cf. PLIN. xxxvii. 19.

²⁰⁴ QUATREMÈRE, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, vol. ii. 175, etc.; *Sur la Mine des Émeraudes*, from Arabian MSS. in the Royal library.

²⁰⁵ HEROD. ii. 93.

proaching misery²⁰⁶: “The waters shall fail from the sea, and the river shall be wasted and dried up; the fishers also shall mourn, and all that they cast angle into the brooks shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the waters shall languish.” The fishery of the Nile itself did not belong to the crown; but that of the canals which connected the Nile with the lake Mœris certainly did. Herodotus informs us²⁰⁷ that this fishery supplied a talent daily to the royal treasury, during the six months in which the water flowed through the canal into the lake, and during the other six months twenty *mines* a day; which income, according to Diodorus’s account²⁰⁸, was appropriated to the queens as pin-money. The fish, of which there were twenty-two different kinds, were salted, which shows the importance of these fisheries; and the quantity was so great, that the persons employed to preserve them could seldom complete their labour.

In addition to all this, there was the tribute paid by the conquered nations, the Ethiopians and others, which was more or less in proportion as the Pharaohs extended their dominions²⁰⁹.

²⁰⁶ ISAIAH, xix. 5—9. According to HEROD. ii. 77, the fish were partly dried in the sun, partly salted. He enumerates tribes who lived entirely on fish, ii. 92.

²⁰⁷ HERODOTUS, ii. 149.

²⁰⁸ DIODORUS, i. p. 62.

²⁰⁹ SCHOL. *ad Homer. Il.* ix. Ἐν Θήβαις δὲ ἦν πρότερον τὰ βασίλεια τῆς Αἰγύπτου, εἰς ἃ πολλοὺς ἔφερον φόρους Λίβυες, Αἰγύπτιοι, Αἰθίοπες. Νῦν δὲ Διόσπολις καλεῖται.

Whether caravans paid a duty on entering the kingdom, and whether an impost was paid for irrigating the lands towards the maintenance of the canals, which seems very probable, must still be left to conjecture.

But how were these taxes paid? Was there any coined money in Egypt? That the precious metals served as representatives of value cannot be doubted; but were they only measured by weight, or were they coined? No coin of the Pharaohs has yet been discovered, nor has any thing yet been found on the monuments relating to money. Nevertheless we must conclude, from the transactions between Joseph and his brethren, that accounts were kept in Egypt in money. "And he commanded the steward to put every man's money in his sack's mouth: to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver²¹⁰." Against coining there was a particular law²¹¹, as well as against usury. Was it Phœnician, and afterwards Cyrenean money, that was current in Egypt²¹²? We cannot answer. Possibly payments may usually have been made by weight, as scales very often occur in the reliefs.

From the accounts of Diodorus, it is clear that the Egyptians had a written body of laws in eight books²¹³: specimens of these are pre-

²¹⁰ GENESIS, xliv. 1; xlv. 22.

²¹¹ DIODORUS, i. p. 89, 93.

²¹² The Cyreneans sent a present of five hundred *mines* in their money to Cambyes, who thought this sum too small. HEROD. iii. 13.

²¹³ DIODORUS, i. p. 87, etc.

served by the same historian; and from what I have already said I think it certain, that he extracted these from translations which he found ready to his hands. These laws, which the Egyptians ascribed to their earliest kings²¹⁴, relate to crimes and matters of police (with which the legislation of all nations begins, because they are first wanted); and they betray mostly their early origin by their severe punishments. Others, nevertheless, show us a people that had already made considerable progress in civilization²¹⁵. Security of person and property (the creditor could only attach the property, not the person); the sanctity of oaths (which was considered as the foundation of the state); and of marriages (among the priests monogamy was ordained, but not among the other classes, and the father gave his rank to his children, even if their mothers were slaves); the permission, and yet the limitation of usury (the capital could only be doubled by the interest); the punishments of treachery and cowardice in a soldier, of coining base metals, using false measures, weights, seals, and forging legal documents, are proofs of this assertion. The single law, which inflicted the same punishment for the murder of a freeman and a slave, gives a proof of an advance in moral civilization which is seldom met with in the nations of antiquity²¹⁶.

²¹⁴ To Mneves, Asychis, Sesostris, Bochoris. DIODORUS, i. 106.

²¹⁵ DIODORUS, ii. p. 88, sqq.

²¹⁶ What most surprises us is, that the robbers had also their chief, to

This is shown still farther by their legal institutions, respecting which Diodorus has preserved many valuable particulars. The kings themselves did not sit as judges, but the administration of justice was left to its proper tribunals, whose sentences were strictly limited by the laws. No counsel were permitted, but every one pleaded his own cause. The accounts of Diodorus²¹⁷ are confined to the regulations of the highest court of justice; of the lower courts, of which many must have existed, we know nothing. This tribunal consisted of thirty judges, who were chosen from the principal inhabitants of the three cities of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis; and were paid by the king. That they were taken from the priest caste will scarcely be doubted, if we remember that these three cities were the chief seats of the priesthood, and of their wisdom and learning. These thirty *elected* from among themselves a president (the king therefore did not appoint him), whose place was filled up by another from the city to which he belonged. The proceedings in this high court of justice were all transacted in writing, as their great

whom they gave an accurate account of their depredations; and, upon applying to him, the injured person received back three-fourths of his property. Diod. i. 91. The prostitutes, in like manner, formed a corporation which had a chief; and both these regulations resulted from the strict division into castes. The thieves in Cairo, according to Reynier, etc., have still their principals, who are applied to for the recovery of stolen property, REYNIER, *Economie Politique et Rurale des Egyptiens*, p. 99.

²¹⁷ DIODORUS, i. 86, 87.

object was to avoid every thing that could excite the passions. The prosecutor first sent a copy of his accusation, and specified at the same time the damages he demanded; to which the defendant answered in a similar manner. The prosecutor was at liberty to reply to this in writing, and the defendant might again answer; and after this the court was obliged to pronounce sentence. This likewise was given in writing, and sealed by the president. He as an emblem of his dignity wore round his neck a golden chain²¹⁸, to which was attached an image set in precious stones, with a hieroglyphic (ζώδιον); it was called Truth. He was obliged to hang this about him at the beginning of every session. This image, as we are expressly informed by Diodorus²¹⁹, was the seal which was affixed to the sentence. In all this there is nothing surprising or improbable. A golden chain was given even to Joseph as a sign of honour; and it is often found sculptured on the monuments with some ornament attached to it²²⁰.

²¹⁸ As our Master of the Treasury.

²¹⁹ Ἐδεῖ τὸν ἀρχιδικαστὴν τὸ ζώδιον τῆς ἀληθείας προστίθεσθαι τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν ἀμφισβηθήσεων. On the walls of one of the large halls in the palace of Osymandias this is sculptured in relief; from which it appears to have been used as a place of meeting for these tribunals. DIODORUS, i. p. 58.

²²⁰ As in Belzoni's royal vault, plate i., and particularly in Elephantis, *Descript.* plate xxxvii. vol. i., where Ammon is represented in full dress, with a golden chain, as receiving the chief-justice. The ornament is alone represented, plate xxxvi. 6. It is the god of the sun (Phré) between two animals with women's heads.

To the observations made in explaining the martial reliefs, there is little to be added respecting the military tactics of the Pharaohs. That the kings themselves commanded their armies, that they appeared in person as brave warriors, has already been remarked. The military art of the Egyptians was similar in many particulars to that of the Greeks, as described in Homer. Neither nation made use of cavalry²²¹; their armies consisted of war-chariots and infantry. The war-chariots seem to have borne by far the largest proportion—even to judge from Homer²²², as whole battles are described in which only chariots are engaged. The greater or smaller figure of the heroes determines their rank. The king, elevated above all, is sometimes designated by the hawk hovering over him; at others, by the serpent, the

²²¹ Cavalry certainly occurs among their Asiatic enemies, etc. HAMILTON, p. 125. *Description*, plate iii. 39.

²²² Il. ix. 382, 383, "Thebes with its hundred gates, sending forth from each two hundred men with chariots and horses." There is great uncertainty with respect to these hundred gates. As Thebes had no walls, it could not have had gates. It may however refer to the gates of the large pylones, to the outlets of the great racecourse, or even to the place of review; but the French think the latter impossible, there being but fifty instead of a hundred. The poet nevertheless cannot be censured here on account of the number, as it might be equally difficult to point out the hundred pylones. According to DIODORUS, i. p. 55, in the valley of the Nile, between Memphis and Thebes, there were a hundred royal stables, each containing two hundred horses; but this is far from affording a satisfactory explanation, as they were not in the town. Whether we are to consider them as the pylones or gates of palaces, or the entrances to the racecourse, must still be left undecided. If, however, we admit that before any great expeditions the army assembled within the city and in the circus, and from its gates issued forth, the poet's description appears justified.

uræus, in his helmet, and sometimes by both. He is also known by having a standard usually carried behind him, which represents the leaf of the *Palma Thebaica*. The splendour of the horses, as well as of their trappings and well-arranged harness, is astonishing; as is also that of their beautifully-formed chariots, seemingly all of metal²²³. Not less remarkable are the close columns and skilful positions of their infantry, just as Xenophon describes them²²⁴. These positions presuppose long and constant training, and therefore could only be introduced in standing armies, or, according to Egyptian custom, in the warrior caste. The manner of attack, of surrounding and outflanking²²⁵, give evident proofs of advanced skill in tactics. The same skill is also observed in the naval engagements, which proves beyond contradiction that there existed, at least in some periods, a naval power under the Pharaohs.

We have thus endeavoured to sketch a picture of one of the most ancient and powerful states of the world. Our next task is to develop the causes of its splendour, so far as it was built on its industry and trade. This will be attempted in the next chapter; in which our view will be extended over the whole of Egypt.

²²³ See plate xii. vol. ii. ; xxxviii. xxxix. vol. iii.

²²⁴ XENOPH. *Cyrop.* vi. p. 166 ; vii. p. 177, 179 ; and compare Hamilton's remarks upon the regularity of the movements in the lines of the Egyptian infantry (p. 146), such as is only possible with well-trained troops.

²²⁵ XENOPHON, *Cyrop.* vii. *Op.* p. 174.

EGYPTIANS.

CHAPTER IV.

Commerce and Manufactures.

“ IN THAT DAY THERE SHALL BE A HIGHWAY OUT OF EGYPT TO ASSYRIA ; AND THE ASSYRIAN SHALL COME INTO EGYPT, AND THE EGYPTIANS INTO ASSYRIA.” ISAIAH, XIX. 23.

THE attempts made by the Egyptians to hand down to posterity a picture of their arts and manufactures, will be of manifold service in this part of our labour. The tombs at Eilethyia are on this account one of the most interesting discoveries made by the French in Egypt¹. The painted reliefs on the walls of what is usually called the Sultan's tomb, represent the occupations of daily life, the various branches of husbandry, of fishing, hunting, navigation, and of the business of their markets. We have now made visible to our eyes, what we could before but very imperfectly conceive from mere verbal descriptions. We cannot of course expect very detailed pictures ; nor must we conclude that they were ignorant of such domestic occupa-

¹ *Description de l'Egypte*, plates lxi—lxx. vol. i.

tions, as we do not happen to find among them. The industry of so civilized a nation is distributed over too many different objects for them all to be represented here. But how various soever the occupations of this people might be, there is no question but that the cultivation of the earth held the highest rank, for husbandry and agriculture were considered the foundation of civilization.

Their agriculture, from the nature of the country, exhibits many peculiarities. It depended on irrigation; and it was therefore not only limited to certain tracts, but its labours were also confined to a very short proportion of the year: they could not be performed till after the flood, because the soil previous to that is everywhere parched up and full of chasms from the heat of the sun². When the overflowing of the stream takes place, the water soaks into the ground, softens it, and makes it fruitful. When the water has run off, sowing must immediately follow; because, the soil, which is now similar to a drained marsh, soon gets hardened. The seed sown on the moist earth (for no manure is wanted), either sinks into it of itself, or is trodden in by cattle driven over it. Neither the plough nor the spade is made use of, except when the soil gets too hard. The plough is often represented: very simple, without wheels,

² See for this and the following statement, REYNIER, *Economie Politique et Rurale des Egyptiens*, p. 192, etc.

and drawn by oxen, and sometimes by men³, and seems to have been used rather for harrowing than turning up the soil. Between sowing and reaping no labour is required. There are very few weeds in Egypt. When they sow in November, the harvest begins in April. The corn is cut with the sickle; often merely the ears, as the straw is of but little value⁴. It is carried from the field in baskets; trodden out by oxen; and the chaff separated from the grain on the floor by sifting. When this is done, the husbandman is at leisure until the next flood. This relief from labour must have produced, in a few years, an incalculable influence on the character of the inhabitants, by enabling them to devote so long a time to their improvement and religious feasts.

We are told of the various kinds of corn they cultivated even before the departure of the Israelites, when it was destroyed by a hail-storm: "And the flax and the barley was smitten; for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was balled: but the wheat and the rye were not smitten, for they were not grown up⁵." The wheat and barley harvests are met with on the monuments⁶; that of rye is not easily to be distinguished⁷. As to the flax, we have not

³ *Descript.* plate lxviii. lxix, vol. i.; xc. vol. ii.

⁴ See above, p. 156, note.

⁵ Exodus, ix. 31, 32.

⁶ *Descript.* plate xc. vol. ii. The yellow colours of the ears shows it to be intended for wheat.

⁷ See vol. iii. plate xxvi.: the sheaves which are offered are either barley or rye.

only its harvest, but the farther process it underwent represented⁸.

The cultivation of cotton was, as we learn from Pliny⁹, quite naturalized in Upper Egypt; though we cannot exactly determine when it was first introduced. But, since we find that the dress of the mummies was chiefly composed of cotton, we are justified in assigning a very early date to its cultivation in Egypt. Whether any traces of it exist on the monuments, particularly in the decorations, I must leave for botanists to decide.

The situation of the valley of the Nile and Delta, which were so abundantly supplied with water, and exposed besides to the yearly overflowing of the Nile, was highly favourable to the cultivation of aquatic plants, which constituted an important part of agriculture, particularly in Lower Egypt. There is a passage respecting this in Herodotus¹⁰, which is the foundation of all that is now known on the subject: "Those who dwell in the marshes have the same customs as the rest of the Egyptians; but to procure themselves easily the means of sustenance, they have devised the following inventions: when the river is full, and the plains are become as a sea, there springs up in the water a quan-

⁸ Plate lxviii. vol. i.

⁹ PLIN. xix. 2. Superior pars Ægypti in Arabiam vergens gignit fruticem, quem alii gossipium vocant, plures xylina, et ideo lina inde facta xylina, nec ulla sunt candore mollitiave præferenda. Vestes inde sacerdotibus Ægypti gratissimæ.

¹⁰ HEROD. ii. 92.

tity of lilies, which the Egyptians call, 'lotus.' After they have gathered these, they dry them in the sun; and then, squeezing out what is contained within the lotus, resembling the poppy, they make it into loaves, which they bake with fire: the root also of this lotus, which is round, and of the size of an apple, is edible, and imparts a sweet flavour. There are also other lilies, similar to roses, likewise produced in the river; the fruit of which grows on a separate stem¹¹, arising from the side of the root, in shape very like a wasp's comb¹²; in this are found many kernels of the size of an olive-stone; these are eaten green and dried. Of the *byblus*, which is an annual plant, after they have plucked it from the marshes, they cut off the top part, and employ it for various purposes; the lower part that remains, about a cubit in length, they eat, and offer it for sale; but such as wish to make a very delicate mess of the *byblus*, stew it in a hot pan, and so eat it."

Herodotus distinguished here two kinds of lilies (*κρίνεα*) as he calls them, or lotuses. There is no doubt about them; and both are found on the monuments. The one first mentioned is the *Nymphaea Lotus*; the other the *Nymphaea Nelumbo*, Linn., or *Nelumbium Speciosum*. They

¹¹ 'Εν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφνομένη ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται. Larcher in his notes proves that this is a second stem, which springs from the root together with another.

¹² Κηρίω σφηκῶν. The wasps are probably the wild bees. Their combs have holes for the honey, as these lotuses have for the seeds or kernels.

are both waterplants: the former is found in abundance in the neighbourhood of Damietta; its stalk grows about five feet above the water, and is still used, as we are assured by Savary, as an article of food by the inhabitants¹³. The other plant, equally celebrated in India, is, or at least was, found in Egypt. Its fruit, of which not only a drawing, but the original itself¹⁴, now lies before me, cannot be more clearly and truly described than it has been done by Herodotus. The kernels, similar to those of the olive, lie in the calix, each in a cavity or cell. Both plants had religious allusions, among others, to the empire of the dead, and therefore we find them portrayed in the catacombs. A most beautiful representation of them is found in the royal vault opened by Belzoni, both in their natural colours, with their stalks and fruits¹⁵. On the left of the spectator is the *Nymphaea Lotus*, and on his right the *Nelumbium*. They often occur in this tomb, and are *always* represented with two stalks of each broken and hanging down: certainly not without some meaning. Their leaves and calyxes are to be seen in every part as ornaments. According to Herodotus, both seem to grow wild. But the *Nelumbium* must also have been cultivated; for in one of the royal sepulchres the harvest of a nelumbo-field, as we are assured by well-informed botanists, is

¹³ SAVARY, *Lettres sur l'Egypte*, p. 8, note 9.

¹⁴ From the Collection of Blumenbach.

¹⁵ BELZONI, plate ii.

represented¹⁶. The assertion of Herodotus, that the fruit grows upon a separate stem or stalk, is also confirmed; as two stalks always grow together, one of which bears the fruit. The third plant mentioned by Herodotus is the *byblus*, from which the papyrus was made, and which also served as food. As Herodotus is speaking here of plants of the latter kind, he only alludes to the other uses to which they might be put in a general manner. The *byblus* is certainly a waterplant, though, according to Theophrastus, it does not grow in deep water¹⁷. He also mentions its being used for food, as the stalk was chewed for its juice. From Herodotus however we learn that it was also prepared for food in another manner. Botanists must decide whether it occurs on the monuments. That it was manufactured very early in Egypt into papyrus, cannot be doubted, since many papyrus rolls have been found in the catacombs of Thebes; but to fix exactly the time of its invention, is now impossible. These rolls prove beyond a doubt, that the literature of Egypt was much richer than could otherwise have been supposed. Besides the religious writings, the custom (so often represented) of drawing up public documents of all public transactions, must have given rise to the formation of archives; and it follows, as a matter of course,

¹⁶ *Description*, plate xc. vol. ii.

¹⁷ THEOPHRAST. *De Plantis*, iv. 9.

that in the imperial palaces, such as that of Osymandyas, there must have been a library, or saloon, set apart for the preservation of the public writings, both religious and political. It is well known that the byblus plant grows also in Europe, though only in one spot, namely, in the rivulet Cyane, near Syracuse, and certainly there in great abundance. It was this circumstance that induced the late Chevalier Landolina to use the pith or pulp of this shrub for the preparation of papyrus¹⁸, in which undertaking he perfectly succeeded¹⁹. All the statements of Herodotus have been confirmed by the experiments and researches of this gentleman.

The climate of ancient Egypt did not suit for the growth of the olive; but they cultivated a kind of *sesamum*, which Herodotus calls *syllicyprium*²⁰, and the Egyptian kiki, from which they extracted oil. The wine-press, according to Herodotus, was unknown in Egypt²¹, though the use of wine was permitted to the priests, and at certain festivals to the people²², who at other times drank a kind of beer made of barley²³. The grape vine however, was not totally unknown in Egypt; branches of it, with ripe

¹⁸ The most accurate accounts of this are found in BARTEL'S *Letters upon Calabria and Sicily*, vol. iii. p. 50, etc., where also the statements of Theophrastus as to the sweetness and flavour of the sap are confirmed.

¹⁹ Upon this I can give a decided judgment, as I possess specimens both of the ancient and modern papyrus. That prepared by Landolina is rather clearer than the Egyptian.

²⁰ HERODOTUS, ii. 94.

²² Idem. ii. 60.

²¹ Idem, ii. 77.

²³ Idem. ii. 77.

grapes growing thereon, are found among the architectural ornaments²⁴. Both the vintage and the process of pressing the grapes are represented in the paintings of Eilethyia²⁵. But the vine at all events could only have been cultivated in a few high lying districts. Belzoni found it in abundance in Fayoume, about the lake Mœris²⁶.

Egypt was destitute both of woods and forests. Except the date-palm and the sycamore, of which the cases of the mummies are made, it had no lofty trees; unless we may include the sacred tree, the persea, which I think sometimes occurs on the monuments²⁷.

The breeding and tending of cattle constituted a second principal branch of Egyptian husbandry; but it depended partly on religion, and partly on the situation of the lands.

The influence of religion on the breeding of cattle, seems to have been less than might be expected, where animal idolatry formed so essential a part of the religion of the people. But of the larger domestic animals, the cow is the only one that was considered sacred²⁸: the worship of the bull Apis applied only to a single beast. The bull, when clean, was a common sacrifice, and is often represented as such on the reliefs²⁹. Of the domestic animals,

²⁴ *Descript.* plate ii. 9.

²⁵ *Idem.* plate lxxviii. vol. i.

²⁶ BELZONI, *Narrative*, p. 381.

²⁷ MINUTOLI'S *Travels*, tab. xxx.

²⁸ They were sacred to Isis, and never sacrificed.

²⁹ What was requisite to make them so, is shown by HEROD. ii. 38.

the sheep was sacred in some nomes, and the goat in others³⁰. Swine were altogether unclean; though at one festival they were offered to Osiris³¹.

That black cattle formed a principal branch of this occupation, requires no proof, as a whole caste was named from it. They were kept in herds, and appear in this manner on the monuments³². The ox was used both for food, and agricultural labour; the ploughs are usually represented as drawn by oxen³³. The buffalo does not occur on the monuments.

That the breeding of horses was not less common in Egypt, is evinced by the monuments. I find no proof that the horse was made use of in husbandry; but it certainly was for carriages, both in peace and war, as it often appears on the monuments; never for riding. To judge from these representations, a most noble breed of horses must have been found in Egypt, as there is even now in the valley of the Nile above Egypt, in Dongola. The breeding of horses was so considerable, that a trade with foreign countries was carried on with them. Solomon obtained the horses for his numerous cavalry from Egypt³⁴. How much fancy and splendour prevailed in the harness and trappings, is manifest from the reliefs³⁵.

³⁰ HERODOTUS, ii. 42.

³¹ Idem. ii. 47, 48.

³² *Descript.* plate lxviii. vol. i.

³³ *Descript.* plate lxix. vol. i.

³⁴ 2 CHRON. ix. 28.

³⁵ Compare especially *Descript.* plate xii. vol. ii.

The breeding of asses and mules was always common in Egypt³⁶; and from the fragments of the work of Mago, it is clear that the Carthaginians also bred them, consequently they were found over all North Africa³⁷.

It has been asserted, that the camel does not occur on the monuments; and thence it has been concluded, that it was not a native either of Egypt or Africa till after the conquest of the Arabs³⁸. But admitting the first assertion to be true, is the latter a necessary consequence? The ass does not appear on the monuments; but are these a manual of zoology? Even the first objection however is contradicted. On the obelisks of Luxor the long necks of camels are often perceived³⁹; and that they are heads and necks of camels beyond all question is confirmed by the latest modern traveller⁴⁰. I have remarked in another place, that camel-breeding to a great extent is not to be expected among agricultural, but nomad people; for the camel prospers best by being constantly in the open air. The valley of the Nile, continually exposed to floods, was but little adapted to the rearing of camels; and therefore we need

³⁶ GENESIS, iv. 23; xlvii. 17. Mules occur also on the monuments: etc. DENON, *Voyage*, plate cxxiv.

³⁷ Vol. i. p. 505, 508.

³⁸ So H. WALKENAEER, *Recherches Géographiques sur l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*; *Journal des Savants*, Février, 1822, p. 106. Camels nevertheless occur in Egypt, according to GENESIS, xii. 16.

³⁹ *Descript.* plate xxxiii. vol. iii. MINUTOLI, tab. xvi. fig. 1.

⁴⁰ MINUTOLI, *Journey*, p. 293.

not be surprised at not discovering the camel on the reliefs that represent the husbandry of that valley. Notwithstanding this it was still known and employed in Egypt. Scarcely any one can be ignorant of the fact, that the tribes of the adjacent Arabia, that the Midianites in particular, made the breeding of camels their chief occupation ; that even in the time of Joseph their merchants travelled with their camels into Egypt. Again, in Africa itself the camel was native from the earliest times. Camel-breeding is at this time the chief employment of the Ababdés in the eastern mountain-chain ; thence they are brought to the Egyptian markets⁴¹ ; and the case was the same in antiquity. The Arabian tribes above Egypt bred them in great numbers ; for they sent their cavalry of camels to the army of Xerxes⁴². How then could this useful and necessary animal remain a stranger to the valley of Egypt, when it was bred by the nations that surrounded it ?

The nature of the country would not allow the breeding of sheep to be carried on to any great degree in the valley of the Nile. Some were nevertheless bred here : Jacob, at a very early period, drove his flocks into Egypt⁴³. On the monuments both single sheep and flocks

⁴¹ Particularly to Esneh. MINUTOLI'S *Travels*, p. 276.

⁴² HEROD. ii. 62, 86, 87. It is evident that this refers to the Arabs above Egypt ; for they served under the same commander with the Ethiopians, and Herodotus assures us that the inhabitants of Arabia were not subject to Xerxes.

⁴³ GENESIS, xlvii. 1, 17.

appear ⁴⁴; and it would be superfluous to point out the importance of the ram in the Egyptian worship. But if Egypt herself did not produce all the wool required for her manufactures, she had nations of shepherds for her neighbours, particularly in Syria and Arabia, who produced it of the very finest quality.

Frequent representations on the monuments show that all kinds of poultry were kept in abundance. The catching of water-birds with nets is also often portrayed ⁴⁵.

The monuments of ancient Egypt are, if any thing, richer in information respecting the manufactures than respecting the productions of the husbandman. Previously to our obtaining copies of these pictures, nobody could have supposed that the nation had carried them to so high a degree of perfection. The mechanic, by an accurate inspection, may find here an extensive field for new discoveries. We, however, must content ourselves with enumerating and describing the principal branches of their industry. Egypt herself produced the rough materials for many of them; but not for all, nor in such abundance as was required. A considerable portion must have been imported.

Of the different branches, weaving claims our first attention, as it undoubtedly employed a great part of the population. When the prophet wishes to paint the misery that was to

⁴⁴ *Descript.* plate lxxviii. vol. i.

⁴⁵ *Descript.* plate lxxiv. vol. i.

befall Egypt and the labouring classes of the people, he mentions the weavers next to the fishermen: "Moreover they that work in fine flax, and they that weave networks, shall be confounded. And they shall be broken in the purposes thereof, all that make sluices and ponds for fish⁴⁶." According to Herodotus, weaving was the business of men⁴⁷, and therefore not merely a domestic affair, but carried on in large manufactories⁴⁸. It is often represented: the most beautiful specimen of it is given by Minutoli from the tomb of Beni Hassan⁴⁹. "The weaver's loom is fastened to four pegs rammed into the ground; and the workman sits on that part of the web, already finished, which is a small chequered pattern of yellow and green. It is observable in many colours of the early Egyptian cloths, that the *byssus* was dyed in the wool before being weaved." These manufactures had attained a wonderful perfection in Egypt even in the time of Moses, of which, among many others, the covers and carpets of the taberna-

⁴⁶ ISAIAH, xix. 9, 10. According to Gesenius's translation.

⁴⁷ HEROD. ii. 35.

⁴⁸ The inscription at Rosetta, line 17, 18, where it is said "that the king had remitted two-thirds of the cotton stuffs (*βυσσίνων ὀθονίων*) which were paid by the temples to the treasury," makes it probable that these manufactures belonged to the temples or the priesthood. AMEILHON, *Inscription de Rosette*, sect. 12, 20, conjectures, with some probability, that the temples had a monopoly of the stuffs which were used for the mummies.

⁴⁹ MINUTOLI, plate xxiv. vol. ii. He also represents the twisting of nets. Compare ISAIAH, xix. 8.

cle afford a striking example. They were sometimes made a hundred yards long; and many of them were embroidered with coloured thread or gold wire, by way of ornament⁵⁰. In the time of Joseph costly garments were the most honourable presents that could be made⁵¹. We need not in this case, however, appeal to dead authorities alone; the monuments speak. Both in the engravings of the work upon Egypt, of the royal tombs of Belzoni, and in those of Minutoli, we see these garments in their splendid colours, as fresh as ever. They are so different and various, that a difference in the stuffs cannot be questioned. * Many of them are so fine, that the limbs shine through⁵²; others on the contrary are coarser. The finer seem rather to be made of cotton than of linen; though a positive decision is impossible from a mere engraving. For the same reason I dare not venture to assert that silk is found amongst them. Both the king and the soldiers are usually dressed in short tunics; but the latter form an exception in the processions; husbandmen and labourers wear merely a white apron; the priests long garments, often thrown round their shoulders in a fantastical manner. Many of these are white; and many white and red

⁵⁰ See GOGUET, ii. 86, sqq.; and GATTERER's *Weltgeschichte in ihrem ganzen Umfange*, p. 65, sqq.

⁵¹ GENESIS, xlv. 22.

⁵² See in particular the robe of the kings, *Descript.* plate xxxi. vol. ii. and the copperplates of Belzoni.

striped; others are starred or flowered; and many exhibit the most splendid colours of the east. The fine garments involuntarily remind us of the Indian muslins; in the dazzling glitter of others silk stuffs seem to be represented. As descriptions, however, can convey but a very imperfect idea of them, I must refer the readers to the last ten plates of the second part of the great work upon Egypt, and to the first five of the Atlas of Belzoni; where the garments of the king and others afford the best specimens.

It is clear from what has been said, that the art of dyeing had made as great progress as that of weaving. The various colours, white, yellow, red, blue, green, and black, are met with in beautiful perfection, but without mixture. Upon the materials used for dyeing, and whether found in Egypt itself, or imported from Babylon and India, I dare not decide. That the Tyrians took part in it is very probable, as it will be presently shown that they had an active establishment at Memphis. From what we have said, then, it is certain, that two or three thousand years ago the art of weaving and dyeing was brought to an equally high, or even higher degree of perfection in the East than at present. And from this it naturally follows, that the intercourse and commerce of these nations must have been as great or greater than it is now. For is it to be supposed that the arts could have proceeded so far among an

isolated people? Did their country alone produce the raw materials and dyes which were necessary to carry them on?

The works in metal rank next to weaving. They carry us back to an age when the use of iron was yet unknown; for so far as we can judge from the colour, which is always green, all implements not of gold or silver were formed of bronze. It has already been remarked, that the war-chariots seem to be entirely made of bronze. Their green colour, their form, the lightness and neatness of the wheels, and their very beautiful ornaments, all prove this very satisfactorily. A great portion of their weapons were likewise of bronze; not only the swords, but also the bows and quivers. Both these and the cutlery represented among the hieroglyphics are always green. Whence did Egypt procure this great quantity of bronze? There were no mines in Egypt from which metal could be obtained. Was it supplied from the Nubian gold mines? Diodorus at least tells us that all the instruments used in them were made of metal.

These, as well as all other instruments and furniture, whether of wood or metal, were formed with so much elegance, and in such great variety, that the Egyptians in this respect rivalled every other nation of antiquity, the Greeks not excepted. Their beds and couches may even now be taken as models⁵³. The

⁵³ *Descript.* plate lxxxix. vol. ii.

silver tripods and basins, the neat baskets and spindles of the ladies, as now seen on the monuments, were celebrated in the time of Homer, and are praised by him⁵⁴. Their musical instruments, particularly their harps, surpass our modern ones in the elegance of their shape⁵⁵. The richness and variety which prevail in all these matters, cannot fail to give a high notion of the refinement of their daily and domestic life.

Finally, their earthenware composed an important branch of their manufactures⁵⁶. Egypt produces an excellent clay, which possesses the peculiar quality of giving an agreeable coolness to the water kept in vessels made of it. This earthenware was not only in common use, but was also used in the tombs, for the preservation of the mummies of the sacred animals; such as the *ibis* and others. The variety and beauty of the shapes into which it was moulded, may be compared with the Grecian: they are also found painted of the most beautiful colours⁵⁷.

The foregoing inquiry respecting the agriculture and manufactures of the ancient Egyptians will serve as the groundwork for an inquiry into their commerce.

Nature seems, by the advantages she has conferred upon Egypt, in its productiveness and

⁵⁴ *Odyss.* iv. 128.

⁵⁵ Plate xci. vol. ii.

⁵⁶ REYNIER, *Economie des Egypt.* p. 274. Coptos is said to have been formerly the principal place for its fabrication, as Kuft in its vicinity is at present.

⁵⁷ See *Descript.* plate lxxxvii. vol. ii. and many other plates.

geographical situation, to have destined it for one of the most important trading countries of the world. Neither the despotism under which it groaned for centuries, and still groans, nor the continual sanguinary broils and wars of which it was the scene, have ever been able to deprive it altogether of the benefit of these advantages: the decrees of nature may be partially impeded, as regards their execution, but cannot be totally frustrated.

An extensive and lively commerce would most easily, and therefore the soonest, be formed on the banks of large rivers running through countries rich in natural productions. Such streams facilitate the intercourse of the inhabitants; and a lively trade at home, which promotes national industry, is always the surest foundation of national wealth, and consequently of foreign trade. The course of the latter depends, in a great measure, upon exterior circumstances and relations, which cannot always be controlled; but internal commerce, being the sole work of the nation, only declines with the nation itself. The Egyptians dwelt on a river such as here described; the Nile afforded them all these advantages, and history proves that they profited by them. From Elephantis it is navigable without interruption, even during the dry season, through the whole of Egypt; and the navigation against the stream is rendered easy, by the north winds which prevail during certain periods of the year.

The ships or boats which they used (they were called *baris*) were built entirely of native materials. They cut boards two yards long from the root of the papyrus, a low tree. The mast was of the same wood, and the ropes of byblus. Herodotus describes the structure of these vessels, and assures us that there were some of them of many thousand pounds burthen⁵⁸.

The Egyptians very early profited by the advantages which their country offered them. Even in the Mosaic age the ships of the Nile were known and common⁵⁹. But when afterwards the country became everywhere, particularly on the western side, intersected with canals, navigation remained almost the only convenient way for mutual communication, and was indeed the only one during the floods. The establishment of canals, ascribed to Sesostris, was not, according to thè express testimony of Diodorus⁶⁰, designed merely for the extension of the inundation, but for the promotion of the national trade and intercourse. Sailors formed, as has been remarked above, one of the most numerous castes.

The inundation happens during the hot months, when the coolness of the water makes a

⁵⁸ We know them now from the pictures preserved in the tombs of Eilethya. *Descript. d'Egypt*, plates lxviii—lxxi. It is here seen that they were impelled both by sails and oars.

⁵⁹ EXOD. ii. 3. According to Michaelis's translation.

⁶⁰ DIODORUS, i. 66.

residence on the river agreeable⁶¹. According to Herodotus⁶², the Egyptians celebrated every year six general national festivals, all in the cities of Lower Egypt; and, it seems that at least one of them, that of Diana or Artemis in Bubastus, fell in this season. The people on this occasion sailed from city to city; and the inhabitants of each successively joining the throng, their number at least increased to 700,000. It could not well be otherwise than that these festivals, during which the people indulged in all kinds of luxury (for in this single festival of Artemis, according to Herodotus, more wine was consumed than in all the year besides), should become so many fairs and markets; and these must have very much promoted the internal commerce of Egypt⁶³, as has been found to be the case among other nations.

This internal commerce, to which the government paid particular attention⁶⁴, partly by prescribing the forms for the security of loans, partly by regulating the rate of interest, and partly by permitting the creditor to indemnify himself by the property, and not the person of the debtor; this intercourse, I say, became the parent of foreign trade, by increasing the wealth of the nation. An opinion, however, has been

⁶¹ MAILLET, l. c.

⁶² HEROD. ii. 60.

⁶³ A picture, or at least a sketch of marketting affairs, may be seen at Eilethya in the purchase of a beast, which is being weighed. *Descript.* ii. p. 64. The same manner of weighing is still in use in Egypt.

⁶⁴ DIODORUS, i. 90.

frequently entertained, that the Egyptians were an isolated nation ; that carefully shunning all communication with foreigners, and confining themselves within their own country, they were indebted to themselves alone for their civilization. Though there is some truth in this notion, I yet venture to hope it has been modified and corrected in various instances by the present inquiries.

This notion seems to have arisen from the contempt which the Egyptians (in common with other nations who observed a certain diet and mode of life prescribed by religion ⁶⁵,) had for foreigners ; and in addition to this because they not only had no navigation on the sea themselves, but sought, previously to the time of Psammetichus, to prevent all foreigners from coming by sea to their country ⁶⁶. The causes of these peculiarities, however, seem very evident, and they may be easily accounted for, without having recourse to religious prejudices.

Neither Egypt nor any contiguous part of Africa produces wood fit for building vessels for the sea. We are ignorant where the early Pharaohs built the squadrons which they had on the Arabian gulf and Indian sea ; probably on the coasts of the latter. The later Pharaohs, who succeeded Psammetichus, and the Ptolemies, could not fit out fleets till they had the command of the Phœnician forests ; and it is

⁶⁵ HEROD. ii. 77.

⁶⁶ DIODORUS, i. p. 80.

well known what bloody wars were carried on between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ for the possession of those countries. But we easily perceive, that the Tyrians and Sidonians felt little inclination to make the Egyptians a maritime people, however the latter might have wished it.

One cause why the ancient Egyptians prohibited all access to their country by sea, may be found in the early state of maritime commerce. All the nations who traded on the Mediterranean, were at the same time pirates, whose particular business it was to kidnap men from the coasts. It was therefore natural, that a people who had no vessels with which they could retaliate or oppose them, should allow them on no pretence to land on their coasts.

There are, however, some traces of facts which would lead us to suppose there were occasional deviations from this rule. According to Homer, Menelaus sailed into Egypt; and Diodorus⁶⁷ mentions a seaport, Thonis, to which he assigns a high antiquity. Even the colonies that went from Egypt into Greece, such as that of Danaus and Cecrops, for example, presuppose an acquaintance with navigation; although we should admit, what indeed seems probable, that they were carried over by Phœnicians.

However this may be, we know, that among

⁶⁷ DIODORUS, i. p. 23. It is doubtful, however, whether this tradition did not arise from confounding the name in Herodotus. See HEROD. ii. 113.

the ancients the proportion of trade which a nation possessed could not be estimated from the extent of its navigation and tonnage, as land trade was the most important; and the geographical situation of Egypt afforded it great advantages as soon as a connection between Africa and Asia, or even between Ethiopia and Northern Africa, became established. Egypt was destined by nature to be the central point of the caravan trade; and such she has continued till the present day, notwithstanding navigation has so much diminished the great extent of over-land trade.

These advantages were certainly peculiar to Egypt, but more particularly to Upper Egypt, or the Thebaid. This country was so situated as to form, at a very early period, one of the most considerable marts for general trade⁶⁸. Placed at the northern extremity of the desert, it became the emporium for the produce of the

⁶⁸ The situation of Upper Egypt, in the midst of rich commercial countries, leads us, as Denon truly and elegantly remarks, to imagine them all, as it were, close together. "When we reckon the number of days required for each journey, when we see the means before us of accomplishing those journeys, the distance no longer appears so great, the length of the way seems to vanish. Gidda and Mecca on the Red sea," continues he, "were neighbouring towns to that in which he resided. India seemed to unite with them. On the other side, the Oases were but three days' journey from us; they were no longer as unknown lands. From Oasis to Oasis, which are two days' journey distant from each other, we approach Sennaar, the capital of Nubia; and Darfour, which lies on the road, and trades with Tombuctoo. After a forty days' journey to Darfour, it requires but another one hundred to Tombuctoo." DENON, ii. p. 195. These remarks, by a man well acquainted with the East, throw a much clearer light upon the facility of intercourse among the Oriental nations than the most learned commentary could have done.

interior of Africa and the countries beyond the desert; and, in addition to this, some of the most ancient and productive gold mines in the world existed close in its neighbourhood⁶⁹.

Thus Egypt enjoyed at the same time the advantage of possessing the commodities most in request, and the greatest facilities for disposing of them. We cannot therefore be surprised, that these regions, in which agriculture and commerce flourished for so many centuries, should become the most opulent and powerful in the world—that here should be erected those proud temples under the protection of which this trade was carried on⁷⁰;—and that here should have been built the royal Thebes, the

⁶⁹ See above, p. 332.

⁷⁰ The great importance of this trade of the Southern world to those countries by which it was carried on, when favoured by exterior circumstances, as well as its great extent, is shown by an Arabian writer of the middle ages: “For two centuries, from 1074 to 1280,” says Makrizi (QUATREMÈRE, *Mémoires sur l’Égypte*, ii. p. 162), “the road from Egypt and Asia to Mecca, passed through the desert of Æidab. From another quarter came the merchants of India, Yemen, and Abyssinia, by sea to the port of Æidab (on the Arabian gulf 22½° N. lat.) and thence traversed the desert to Egypt. The desert was, at this time, always covered with caravans of pilgrims and merchants, journeying to and fro: whole loads of pepper and other spices were often left by the wayside until the return of their owners; and although so many were continually passing, none thought of removing or injuring them. The harbour of Æidab was at that time the most frequented in the world, as well by the vessels of India and Yemen as by the barks which ferried over the pilgrims. Its inhabitants derived immense sums from these sources; they imposed a duty upon every load of meal, and let vessels to the pilgrims which carried them to Gidda and back again; but, after the time above mentioned, its commerce declined, and was finally shifted to Aden and Ormus. Æidab became again a desert, but Ormus, although situated on a *waterless island*, became one of the richest, most splendid, and luxurious towns in the world.

great storehouse and market of the world, and which Homer celebrates as the most flourishing city of his day⁷¹.

The preceding inquiries make us acquainted with those countries with which Egypt was thus connected; and the roads by which that connection was kept up with the Negro countries and Carthage, as well as with Ethiopia. By this connection Egypt obtained an immense quantity of the most valuable foreign commodities⁷²: from Ethiopia she procured gold, ivory, and slaves⁷³, from Arabia incense, and from India spices; Greece and Phœnicia supplied her with wine⁷⁴; and fine salt she procured in abundance

⁷¹ Iliad, ix. 381.

⁷² See the foregoing volume, p. 450.

⁷³ HEROD. iii. 114. A proof of the connection between Upper Egypt and Nubia is preserved in a remnant of the ancient road, leading from one country to the other. Denon relates: "We advanced to Philæ on a road through the desert. This road is worthy remark, as we saw that it was formerly constructed as a highway elevated, and much used. This district was the only one in Egypt where a great high road was necessary; for as the Nile is not navigable on account of its waterfalls, all merchandise from Ethiopia, going to Philæ, must have been brought by land to Syene, where it was again embarked. The blocks of stone on this road are covered with hieroglyphics; and seem to have been placed there for the gratification of travellers (plate lxvii. 1; lxviii. 1, 2.) Another remarkable appearance on this route is the remnants of fortifications, which are built of brick stones, dried by the sun. The base is from fifteen to twenty feet broad; the wall was carried along the valley which borders the road, and ends in rocks and fortresses about three leagues from Syene. The great cost of such a building is a proof of the importance attached to the defence of this spot." DENON, ii. 79. LANCRET, *Mémoire I. in Description d'Egypte*, gives a still more accurate description of this road. It seems originally to have been founded for the pilgrims to Philæ: but where in the East do these pilgrimages exist without trade?

⁷⁴ HEROD. iii. 6.

from the African deserts⁷⁵. In exchange for these Egypt could give the first and most indispensable necessary of life; her fertility made her the oldest granary for corn; and in the weaving both of linen and cotton she attained very early to a high degree of perfection.

These useful productions of Egyptian industry must have had a very extensive sale, as they are frequently mentioned both by Jewish and Greek writers. In the time of Herodotus, Egyptian linen was greatly esteemed by the Greeks⁷⁶; and, according to Scylax, it was one of the articles of the Carthaginian trade on the remotest coasts of western Africa⁷⁷.

It is probable that the Tyrian dyes first gave the full value to these articles: proofs at least are found, that carpets and garments were the principal goods imported by the Tyrians from Egypt⁷⁸.

We have already observed that the Tyrians had a settlement at Memphis; Herodotus places it near the sanctuary (τέμενος) of Proteus, within which stood a temple dedicated to the hospitable Aphrodite⁷⁹. It was called the camp of the Tyrians, and was an establishment for trade un-

⁷⁵ ARRIAN, *De Exped. Al.* iii. 4.

⁷⁶ HEROD. ii. 105. The λίνον here mentioned must be linen, and not cotton stuff, as it is opposed to the λίνον of the Colchians, where no cotton could be expected.

⁷⁷ SCYLAX, p. 129.

⁷⁸ EZEK. xxvii. 7. See the translation of Michaelis.

⁷⁹ HEROD. ii. 112. ξεῖντης Ἀφροδίτης. See also at Cythera, i. 105. Was it Astarte or another Phœnician goddess?

der the protection of a sanctuary, similar to one which will presently come under our notice, formed by the Greeks at Naucratis.

The corn trade was of no less importance to Egypt than her manufactures. This country, even in its infancy, appears to have been the granary of all the adjacent countries, which, by the nature of their soil, were ill adapted for agriculture. An unproductive harvest in Egypt caused, in Jacob's time, a scarcity of corn in Syria; and as soon as it was known that the Egyptians had stored up corn from former harvests, caravans were sent thither to supply the deficiency⁸⁰. Arabia, also, had its corn from Egypt; and it was on this account that the Egyptians endeavoured to connect the Nile with the Arabian gulf, by means of a canal. This trade must have become still more regular and extensive, when Egypt had secured its fruitfulness by digging the lake Mœris; a failure, at least in Lower Egypt, being rendered thereby physically impossible. It ought not to be thought surprising, that less notice is taken of this in the more early periods, than in the times of the Ptolemies and Romans: the exportation was at that time by land; and it is in the nature of land trade to be less conspicuous than that by sea, and indeed the less so the more regular it is in its course. May not our knowledge of the African caravan trade be considered, to a

⁸⁰ GENESIS, xlii. 5. See the translation and remarks of Michaelis.

certain extent, as a discovery of modern times? and yet it stands incontrovertible, that it has continued, with but few alterations, for many centuries. How important and necessary this trade must have been for Egypt, may be proved from an example quoted by Aristotle, in which an attempt to interdict the exportation of corn rendered the payment of the public taxes impossible⁸¹. There is scarcely another country in the world where the fertility of the soil, the little labour required, the certainty of produce, and the profit derived from exportation, concur in so great a degree to stimulate the inhabitants to agriculture; and where its promotion and protection were so evidently the best policy of the ruling class.

Notwithstanding this extensive trade, both in foreign and native commodities, it does not appear that the Egyptians ever themselves exported their wares. Local circumstances were the cause of this. The geographical situation of Egypt rendered it the great thoroughfare of commerce, as the great trading routes from South Africa and Asia ran through it; and its own native productions, moreover, were of such a kind, that they were not compelled to carry them to a foreign market, but might quietly wait till necessity drove purchasers to fetch them. I must here likewise call the reader's attention to a remark I have elsewhere made⁸²,

⁸¹ ARISTOT. *De Re Famil.*, Op. ii. 395.

⁸² See foregoing volume, p. 183.

that the African caravans were chiefly composed of nomadic shepherds, who were employed as carriers, and not of the inhabitants of cities, or of people who had fixed habitations. It is known that Egypt still remains the principal seat of the caravan trade; yet but very few of its inhabitants form part of those travelling communities, which are chiefly composed of the nomad tribes of interior Africa.

This was the state of Egyptian trade, so far as we can discover, and the state in which it continued during the flourishing period, without any great changes, down to the time of Psammetichus. He, however, began them even during the dodecarchy, and while he resided at Sais, by throwing open Lower Egypt to the Phœnician and Greek merchants: the products of the latter countries were advantageously exchanged for the manufactures of Phœnicia and Greece, whereby he could not fail to obtain both treasures and friends in foreign countries⁸³. The conquests of the Egyptians, however, and particularly their almost uninterrupted wars with the commercial cities of Phœnicia, must have been rather disadvantageous than otherwise: history, however, is entirely silent on the subject.

The whole internal commerce of Egypt, however, underwent an entire change in the reign of Amasis. This prince, who was a great admirer

⁸³ DIODORUS, i. p. 77.

of the Greeks, and much given to luxury and rioting⁸⁴, opened at last to foreign merchants the mouths of the Nile, which had so long been barred against them: a concession which led to important changes in the moral and political character of the nation.

Naucratis, a city of Lower Egypt, situated on the Canopian arm of the Nile, near whose mouth Alexandria was afterwards erected, was assigned to such Greek merchants as wished to settle in Egypt⁸⁵. The commercial states of Greece were, at the same time, permitted to found temples in certain places for the accommodation of their travelling merchants, and which might also serve as staples and marts for the merchandise which they should send into Egypt.

The endeavours of the Greeks, particularly those of Asia Minor, to profit by this privilege, and their competition, give the surest proof of its importance. The principal and largest of these sanctuaries, which was called Hellenium, was founded in common by nine Greek colonial cities of Asia Minor; namely, by the Ionian colonies of Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ; by the Doric colonies of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; and by the Æolian colony of Mitylene⁸⁶. Many other towns afterwards claimed the credit of having taken a share

⁸⁴ HEROD. ii. 173, 178.

⁸⁵ Idem. ii. p. 179.

⁸⁶ Idem. ii. p. 178.

in it, but Herodotus expressly assures us, that these claims were without foundation. The Æginetæ erected besides a particular temple for themselves and their trade, which they dedicated to Jupiter; the Samians another, consecrated to Juno⁸⁷; and the Milesians another, consecrated to Apollo.

Amasis at first only granted this permission to the Greeks, under such restrictions as prudence seemed to require. Their vessels were only allowed to enter the Canopian arm, and they were obliged to land at Naucratis. If a ship happened to enter another mouth, it was detained; and the captain was not set at liberty, unless he could swear that he had been compelled to do so by necessity. He was then obliged to sail to Naucratis; or, if continual north winds made this impossible, he had to send his freight in small Egyptian vessels round the Delta (more inland) to Naucratis⁸⁸. However rigidly these restrictions were originally enforced, they must soon have fallen into disuse, as the mouths of the Nile were open to any one after the conquest of the Persians.

The Egyptians soon felt the good effects of this liberality. Every part of Egypt enjoyed more prosperity than it ever had done before;

⁸⁷ Samos was at that time under the dominion of Polycrates, the friend and ally of Amasis, and one of the richest states. HEROD. iii. 39. We have also here an example of another sort, of how usual the custom was in antiquity to make sanctuaries the privileged repositories of commerce.

⁸⁸ HEROD. ii. 179.

and the reign of Amasis was regarded as one of the happiest which had blessed the land. The dead capital, which must have accumulated by a long trade with the gold countries, was now put in motion; the new wares imported by the Greeks, gave rise to new wants; and as a new market was now opened, new branches of industry naturally sprung up. This change in their trade, however, had the most striking effect in the extension and improvement of agriculture. "The Egyptians," we are told by Herodotus⁸⁹, "had never before turned to so good account the produce of their fields:" a natural consequence of the quick and certain sale, which they now found for their corn in the different countries of Europe and Asia. Amasis himself promoted this activity by wise regulations; by one of which he obliged every citizen under a heavy penalty to give yearly an account to the chief of his district, of the means by which he obtained his livelihood⁹⁰.

Egypt certainly, in some measure, purchased this prosperity by the sacrifice of her national character. The Greek merchants and their agents, who now formed a separate and respectable caste, under the name of interpreters, whose origin I have already explained⁹¹, now

⁸⁹ HEROD. ii. 177.

⁹⁰ Idem. l. c. It was the revival of a more ancient law: see above, p. 330.

⁹¹ See above, p. 141.

spread over every part of Egypt; and introduced, with their Greek wares, Greek manners and ideas. A change of this sort however, in the common course of affairs, must soon have taken place even without the intervention of Amasis: the Egyptians could scarcely have preserved their former government and manners after they had begun, by conquests and treaties, to come into political contact with foreign nations. But though the comparison of the Egyptian and Greek deities might cause some change in religious notions, the deeply rooted institutions of castes was a strong barrier against the introduction of novelties.

The Persian invasion must necessarily at first have had an unfavourable influence on Egyptian commerce, particularly that carried on over land. Cambyzes directed his arms exactly against those places which we know to have been the principal seats of the caravan trade, against Ammonium and Ethiopia; and though his bad success made this interruption only temporary, yet the re-establishment of the ancient course became difficult in proportion as it had been regular before.

As soon however as the first storms had subsided, Egypt seems to have revived very rapidly; particularly under the mild government of Darius. The yearly tribute which he imposed on this country, and towards the payment of which the neighbouring Libya, Barca, and Cyrene

contributed, amounted to no more than seven hundred talents⁹². To this must be added the corn required for the maintenance of the Persian garrison at Memphis⁹³, and the fishing of the lake Mœris, which produced, during the six months that the waters of the Nile receded, a talent a day, and during the other six about one third of that sum⁹⁴. The Egyptians always bore a grateful remembrance of this prince, notwithstanding their frequent revolts against the Persians⁹⁵.

When Herodotus visited Egypt, about thirty years after the death of Darius, the trade with the interior of Africa and with Ethiopia had again revived. Any one at this time could acquaint him with the commercial roads which led through Libya and to Meroë. He moreover enumerates the chief articles of trade which were imported at this period from the southern countries, as well as the productions of Ethiopia⁹⁶. Egypt found a full equivalent for any loss she might have sustained in this land trade:

⁹² About 24,000*l.* of our money.

⁹³ HEROD. iii. 91. 120,000 men were quartered in Memphis: HEROD. l. c. Garrisons were besides placed in the fortified places on the frontiers, at Syene, Marea, and Daphne, (HEROD. ii. 30,) whose strength we do not know; and, besides, Herodotus does not say whether they were maintained by the Egyptians or not.

⁹⁴ HERODOTUS, ii. 149.

⁹⁵ But after the first revolt of the Egyptians under Xerxes, they were treated much more harshly than the Persians, HEROD. vii. 7, which occasioned the rebellion of Inarus. It is much to be regretted that Herodotus has left us so little upon the latter regulations of the Persian government in Egypt.

⁹⁶ HERODOTUS, iii. 114.

it was fully made up to her by her maritime trade with the Greeks ; which was less exposed to interruption, and must have increased in activity in proportion as the hatred felt by both nations against the Persians brought them more frequently into contact, and strengthened their connection.

The Persian dominion, taken altogether, was not hurtful to commerce, though it occasioned some few deviations from its usual course in Asia ⁹⁷. The Phœnician towns lost nothing of their splendour under its sway ; it made the people of Asia better acquainted with one another ; and the lively intercourse to which it gave rise must, in consequence of the constant connection between Egypt and Asia, have benefitted the trade of that country. But the downfall of the Persian empire affected Egypt far beyond this : it gave rise to an entirely new order of things, the exposition of which must be reserved for the ensuing chapter.

⁹⁷ See upon this subject my second disquisition upon ancient India, *De Viis Mercaturæ Indicæ*, Comment. Soc. Gott. vol. xi.

EGYPTIANS.

CHAPTER V.

Decline and Fall of the empire of the Pharaohs.

EGYPT IS LIKE A VERY FAIR HEIFER ; BUT DESTRUCTION COMETH ;
IT COMETH OUT OF THE NORTH. JEREMIAH, XLVI. 20.

IT may seem surprising that Egypt, which we have represented as enjoying, in some respects, its greatest happiness under its last, or last king but one, Amasis, should at the same time be so fast approaching its fall. But the happy period of a nation, so far as it depends on the wealth and well-being of the people, is not always the period of its courage and vigour. The throne of the Pharaohs had been long tottering; and had been brought into this state by a series of causes very different in their nature and operation.

We have placed the end of the splendid period of the Pharaohs at about 800 B. C. ; and must return to those times in order to trace out these causes. Some time during the next century, probably about half way between 800 and 700 B. C., the conquest of Egypt by Sabaco the

Ethiopian, and his two successors, Seuechus and Tirhaco, took place, in which Thebes and Upper Egypt were included, if not the whole of Egypt; though the two contemporary dynasties of Tanis and Bubastus continued in Lower Egypt¹.

The Ethiopian dominion, which endured fifty years, seems to have laid the foundation of that general change in the affairs of Egypt which soon after took place under Psammetichus. For although, according to the tradition of the priests, the preceding king, who is said to have concealed himself for fifty years in the marshes, regained the throne; yet Sethos, a priest of Vulcan, soon afterwards usurped the government; and, by uniting in himself the dignity of high priest and king, materially changed the former constitution. He moreover exasperated the warrior caste by seizing their lands; and as they refused to serve him, he would have been unable to repel the expedition marching against him under the victorious banners of the Assyrian conqueror, Sanherib, or Sennacherib, which is mentioned by Jewish annalists, had not a pestilence, which broke out in the army of the Assyrians, obliged them to retreat².

That at this period the affairs of Egypt were in a very troubled and stormy state, we may

¹ The twenty-second and twenty-third of Manetho. The numerous rulers at that time in Egypt is confirmed by ISAIAH, xix. 13. The Zoan mentioned there is Tanis; the Noph, Memphis of Gesenius's Comment.

² HERODOTUS, ii. 141, 142.

conclude with certainty from the oracles of the first of the Jewish prophets. The predictions of Isaiah against Egypt, which form the subject of the whole of the nineteenth chapter, were delivered about this period, whether a few years later or earlier be fixed upon as the date³: Egypt is threatened both with physical and political miseries, with war, and the rod of tyrants.

Powerful convulsions, therefore, must have distracted Egypt at this period, of which history only mentions the result: namely, that the Egyptians shook off the yoke of Sethos, and instituted a government of twelve princes, to each of whom a particular part of Egypt was allotted. It is very probable that this division was made according to the former division of the land into nomes; although we cannot adopt the opinion of a modern critic, who says that this was the exact number of nomes which existed at that time⁴. According to the few and obscure accounts of the priests, given by Herodotus, it seems that these dodecarchi were taken from the warrior caste; it was evidently intended, however, that they should be subservient to the authority of the sacerdotal college, and the chief priest at its head. This plan was soon afterwards abolished by Psammetichus, to whom the dominion over Sais in Lower Egypt had been

³ Respecting the chronological difficulties see the researches of Gesenius upon this chapter, already quoted in the foregoing volume.

⁴ DE PAUW, *Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, tom. ii. p. 324.

given; for by the assistance of Greek mercenaries he expelled the other rulers, and made himself sole master of Egypt.

Psammetichus thus re-established the fallen throne of the Pharaohs, and his reign forms an epoch in Egyptian history. From the time he obtained the sole dominion to the Persian invasion under Cambyses, Herodotus reckons one hundred and thirty years⁵. Egypt, during the whole of this period, continued without interruption one empire, and kept up a constant connection with foreign nations, both Greek and Asiatic. It numbered among its rulers some mighty princes, who became both warriors and conquerors, and even with very happy consequences formed Egypt into a maritime power. The obscurity, therefore, which hovers over the early history of this country becomes gradually dispelled; and the accounts of Herodotus, who himself tells us that they only here begin to possess a higher degree of historical credibility⁶, become the more authentic, because we can compare them with those of the Jewish annal-

⁵ The succession of kings in Herodotus is as follows: *Psammetichus*; he reigned after the fifteen years of the dodecarchy, thirty-nine years († 617 B. C.); *Necho* sixteen years; *Psammis* six years; *Apries* twenty-five years; *Amasis* forty-four years; *Psammenit* a year and a half. *Necho* and *Apries* (Pharaoh Hophra) are also mentioned in the Chronicles and Prophets; cf. 2 KINGS, xiii. 29, etc.; JEREMIAH, xlv. 30. DIODORUS, i. p. 106, according to his usual custom only names individual kings, *Psammetichus*, *Apries* (whom he places four generations after *Psammetichus*), and *Amasis*.

⁶ HEROD. ii. 147, 152. He refers to the agreement between Egyptians and foreigners.

ists, who in their chronicles frequently refer to Egypt and its kings, with whom that people was by various relations closely connected.

But though the throne was re-established, and the unity of the empire restored, it no longer retained its former power. The manner of its restoration by foreigners, gave birth to a series of events which decided the subsequent fate of the empire. The very elements which ought to have constituted its strength, brought on its weakness and overthrow.

Psammetichus having acquired the sole dominion by the aid of Phœnician, Greek, and Carian mercenaries, but more particularly the latter two, was naturally considered as an usurper by a great part of the nation: he had consequently to struggle with a powerful party, and was obliged to keep those foreigners in pay to maintain the authority which he had acquired by their assistance. The Greek soldiers were presented with lands in Egypt, and formed a colony near Bubastus, in one of the nomes in which the Egyptian warrior caste had resided⁷. This Greek settlement was one of the chief causes of the great change which now took place in Egypt. The Egyptian warrior caste, who were most injured by these foreigners, were naturally their bitterest enemies: their lands had been already taken from them by Sethos; and they were now exasperated by seeing foreigners pre-

⁷ HEROD. ii. 152, 154; DIODORUS, i. p. 77.

ferred to, or placed on an equal footing with them⁸.

They preferred emigration to subjection. Psammetichus vainly endeavoured to stop them; the greater part expatriated themselves from Egypt and settled in Ethiopia⁹. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this must have greatly diminished the strength of the nation, whose whole armed force had consisted of this caste alone.

The Greek auxiliaries were from this time considered as the sinews of the Egyptian armies; they formed indeed the body-guard of the king. They retained their settlement in Bubastus (where the remains of their dwellings existed in the time of Herodotus) until the reign of Amasis, who caused them to remove, for the protection of his person, to Memphis¹⁰. It is probable, as they formed the principal support of the royal power, that they had a decided influence in the affairs of Egypt.

Both Psammetichus and his successor usually lived at Sais. Psammetichus was deeply indebted to the inhabitants of this town, who had restored him from exile¹¹, before the institution of the dodecarchy; and he probably resided here for security, as the Greek mercenaries were not far distant. His successors moved nearer

⁸ HEROD. ii. 30 ; cf. DIODORUS, i. p. 78.

⁹ See above, p. 134.

¹⁰ HEROD. l. c.

¹¹ Idem. ii. 152.

the sea, as that situation better suited their political views.

Notwithstanding this change Memphis was always considered as the capital of Egypt, and appears in that character at the Persian conquest, and even under the Ptolemies, as is shown by the inscription at Rosetta. Psammetichus seems to have paid much court to the priesthood, after the emigration of the warrior caste; and testified his friendship by resuming the building of the temple of Phtha, which had been neglected by his predecessors¹². He built at Memphis the southern propylea, and opposite this a splendid aula and portico for the habitation of Apis.

The ambition of conquest displayed by the Egyptian kings throughout this period is remarkable: it formed at other times no part of the general character of the nation, but seems to have been called forth by the valour of the Greek mercenaries, and the success of their arms. Psammetichus and all his successors seem to have been animated with this feeling, which prepared the way for the destruction of their dynasty.

Both from the narrative of Herodotus and the Jewish annalists it is clear, that one leading object was hereditary, as it were, among them: the conquest of Syria and Phœnicia. The rich commercial cities of these countries, where

¹² HEROD. ii. 153.

for centuries the treasures of the world had been heaped together, proved too great a temptation to be resisted. They in some measure effected their object; but their mania for conquest was punished in the usual manner, by other enemies equally ambitious and more powerful than themselves. The traditions of the expeditions and victories of the ancient Pharaohs, which they saw represented on the walls of their temples and palaces, probably stimulated them to these undertakings. But the situation of affairs was no longer the same. When the former undertook their expeditions, there was no powerful empire in the west of Asia; but victorious nations now dwelt here, ready to repel every invader.

Psammetichus himself made a beginning by besieging Azotus, a frontier town of Syria. He conquered it at last; but not till after many unsuccessful attempts, which occupied altogether twenty-nine years; for we cannot well imagine one siege, though turned to a blockade, to have lasted so long¹³. His son and successor Necho made a more rapid and more successful progress. He defeated the Syrians at Magdolus, captured Jerusalem, and overran Syria as far as the Euphrates¹⁴. He lost all these conquests, however, as rapidly as he had gained them. After the fall of the Assyrian power, a

¹³ HEROD. ii. 157.

¹⁴ 2 KINGS, xxiii. 33. HERODOTUS (ii. 159,) mentions also the conquest of Jerusalem, which he calls *Cadytis*.

new conquering empire, the Chaldæan-Babylonian, arose in central Asia, and, under its ruler Nebuchadnezzar, arrived at a high, though transitory pitch of greatness. The Egyptian and Babylonian conquerors met at Circesium, where a single battle not only deprived the Egyptians of all their conquests, but laid open their country to the danger of a hostile invasion¹⁵.

One of the first and most important consequences of these foreign conquests was the establishment of a navy. The Phœnician commercial towns were seaports, and the Egyptian kings must have soon discovered that these could not be overcome without fleets. Necho, therefore, resolved to have one; and prosecuted the formation of it with so much vigour, that greater results might have been expected from it. He built a fleet in the Mediterranean and in the Red sea, and these he intended to join by means of a canal from one sea to the other¹⁶.

This undertaking, which at the first glance we should suppose would necessarily alter the general course of trade, was only half executed by Necho; but seventy years later it was completed by Darius the son of Hystaspes. Herodotus, who saw this canal after it was finished, and

¹⁵ Compare the description of this battle as given by JEREMIAH, xlv. and the remarks of Michaelis. It seems that it led to an invasion of Egypt by the victors.

¹⁶ HEROD. ii. 158, 159.

who has described its direction, proves, by his statement, the incorrectness of all later writers, who assert that Darius abandoned the undertaking because he heard the Red sea was higher than the Mediterranean, and that it was completed by Ptolemy the second ¹⁷.

The purpose for which it was cut, as well as other circumstances, show that it was originally intended for vessels of war rather than trade; for it was made sufficiently broad for two triremes to sail abreast ¹⁸. It began immediately above the town Bubastus, and winding southwards till beyond Memphis, took its course thence near the great stone quarries, and joined the Red sea. Natural obstacles, particularly the dangerous navigation of the upper parts of the Red sea, where probably the chief reasons why it had so little influence upon commerce; for even in the period of the Ptolemies, when it must have been navigable, a caravan road was made a little more to the south from Coptos to the Red sea, and the vessels coming from the southern seas went no farther than Myos Hormos.

The maritime power of the Egyptians ceased with their possessions in Asia. Apries employed

¹⁷ STRABO, p. 1157, where will be found collected, in the notes, the testimony of other writers. The traces of many canals running from the eastern branch of the Nile are still visible; they unite, however, together near Belbeis. It is very well known that one of the first operations of the Arabs, after the conquest of Egypt by Omar, was to open the canals, that Arabia might be supplied with corn from Egypt.

¹⁸ HEROD. ii. 158, 159.

a fleet in his war against the Phœnicians, and conquered Sidon¹⁹; but it afterwards fell into decay, and, in Herodotus's time only some remnants of the vessels were left²⁰.

The rebellion of the Egyptians against Apries, after his unsuccessful expedition against Cyrene, which raised Amasis to the throne, sufficiently evinces that the extravagant projects of their kings were but little in unison with the feelings of the people. The consequence of this rebellion was a war between the Egyptians and the mercenaries²¹, in which the latter were defeated, and Apries soon after lost his life. Amasis, under whom Egypt is said to have enjoyed its greatest happiness, preferred peace to the splendour of conquests, and died just in time to escape being a witness to the capture of Egypt by Cambyzes.

The causes, therefore, which led to the downfall of the Pharaohs will be immediately understood from what we have said. After the Ethiopian conquest and the usurpation of Sethos, their throne, which had been founded on the unity of the priest and warrior castes, never recovered its former stability. After the defection and emigration of the latter, the nation was left without succour. Foreigners, whom she hated, were called in to protect her. These strangers were employed in foreign wars and conquests, which the nation disliked; and these

¹⁹ HEROD. ii. 161.

²⁰ Ibid. ii. 159.

²¹ Ibid. ii. 169.

wars and conquests miscarried. Dislike broke out into open rebellion; the ruling dynasty was overthrown: a bold adventurer seized the crown; he favoured foreigners, and enriched Egypt thereby; but he at the same time excited the rapacity of conquerors. What had Egypt to oppose them with but an undisciplined mob?

Various causes are assigned for the Persian invasion; but whatever its pretext, the true cause was a hankering after the riches and good things of Egypt. A single battle and a ten days' siege of the capital Memphis, decided the fate of the whole country²².

It is well known that excessive cruelty towards the priests, and the destruction and pillage of the temples, are imputed to Cambyzes. The difference between the religious worship of the Persians and Egyptians is not often considered as the cause of this proceeding, and of the national hatred of the Egyptians against the Persians, and their frequent revolts, which do not seem to accord with their general character, if we may judge of it from their conduct towards the Ptolemies.

A more correct notion may be formed of all this by considering the whole conduct of the Persians in Egypt as a struggle, not so immediately directed against religious opinions and usages, as against the aristocratic body of

²² HEROD. iii. 11, 13.

the Egyptian priests; although it is impossible to separate one entirely from the other. Under the reigns of the latter Pharaohs the Egyptian priest caste was 'certainly no longer what it had been; but its political influence, though weakened, was not destroyed. Both Psammetichus, and more particularly Amasis, had treated them with the greatest consideration, and testified their veneration by the building of new temples, or by extending and decorating those already erected²³. They still formed the noble class of the nation; and they still continued to possess the learned sciences, and the same high offices of state which they had held formerly. The interests, therefore, of the ruling caste and of the foreign conquerors must have clashed; and the profanation of the temples and deities was a consequence of this political animosity. But the accounts respecting this are probably exaggerated, as all we know of Cambyses' character is drawn entirely from the statements of the Egyptian priests, who were his enemies. We are but imperfectly acquainted with the history of the succeeding revolts of the Egyptians against the Persians; and of their origin, and of the means by which the people were stirred up, we know nothing whatever. But that the priests were the principal movers seems evident from the fact, that after the re-

²³ HEROD. ii. 175, 176.

establishment of the Persian monarchy in Egypt they were punished for it ²⁴.

A theocracy in itself bears the seeds of its own destruction, if the authority of the priesthood declines, and the troops withhold their obedience. Both happened in Egypt; and neither the swords of the mercenaries, nor the treasures of the people were able to uphold the throne of the Pharaohs.

²⁴ DIODORUS, ii. p. 112. When Artaxerxes had driven away Nectanebus, and brought Egypt again under his authority, the persecution of the priests began. Their temples were pillaged, and even their sacred books taken from them: these, however, according to Diodorus's account, they got permission through Bagoas to redeem by the payment of a large sum of money.

APPENDIX.

I. *The passage of CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS respecting the Egyptian characters.*

THESE passages from St. Clement will be found in STROMATA, v. 4, p. 555, Sylb. In the original it is as follows: *Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ἐπιστολογραφικὴν· δευτέραν δὲ, τὴν ἱερατικὴν, ἣ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν ἱερογλυφικὴν· ἥς ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν πρῶτων στοιχείων, κυριολογικὴ· ἡ δὲ συμβολικὴ. Τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν· ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἄντικρυς ἀλληγορεῖται κατὰ τινὰς αἰνιγμούς. "Ἡλιον γ' οὖν γράψαι βουλόμενοι, κύκλον ποιοῦσι· σελήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδὲς, κατὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδος. Τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ' οἰκειότητα μετὰγοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλαχῶς μετασχηματίζοντες, χαράττουσι· τοὺς γ' οὖν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογούμενοις μύθοις παραδιδόντες, ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων. Τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αἰνιγμούς, τρίτου εἶδους, δείγμα ἔστω τόδε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξήν, ὀφέων σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον, τὸν δὲ "Ἡλιον τῷ τοῦ κανθάρου. Jam vero qui docentur ab Ægyptiis, primum quidem discunt Ægyptiarum litte-*

rarum viam ac rationem, quæ vocatur epistolographica; secundo autem hieraticam, qua utuntur hierogrammates; ultimam autem hieroglyphicam, cujus una quidem species est per primas litteras, cyriologica dicta, altera vero symbolica. Symbolicæ autem una quidem proprie loquitur per imitationem; alia vere scribitur velut tropice; alio vero fere significat per quædam ænigmata. Qui solem itaque volunt scribere, faciunt circum; lunam autem, figuram lunæ cornuum formam præ se ferentem, convenienter ei formæ quæ proprie loquitur. Tropice autem per convenientiam traducentes et transferentes, et alia quidem immutantes, alia vero multis modis transfigurantes, imprimunt. Regum itaque laudes fabulis de diis immiscentes, anaglyphicis describunt. Tertiæ autem generis, quod fit per ænigmata, hoc sit indicium: alia quidem astra propter obliquam conversionem assimilabant corporibus serpentum, solem vero scarabæo.

The principal difficulty found in this passage is the giving the correct signification of *κυριολογική* and *κυριολογείται*. But that this refers to a *phonetic* system seems pretty evident from its being opposed to the tropical; and from the fact that all the other varieties or applications of picture writing are distinctly enumerated and exhausted in the succeeding parts of the description. It is, therefore, expressive of objects in a *proper* (and not figurative) manner. Now this may be done in two ways, either by letters, or by proper pictures. If we therefore

proceed bearing this in mind, the whole will be very intelligible. Clement first distinguishes the three sorts of writing in use among the Egyptians, the epistolographic, which is by others called the demotic, as it is found upon the Rosetta stone; the hieratic or sacerdotal writing, which was used by the *hierogrammatists*, or sacred scribes; it was, therefore, probable that in this the holy writings were written; finally, the hieroglyphic, whose proper destination was to be sculptured or engraved, as is afterwards shown by the word *χαράττουσι*. The first of these then is the alphabetical, by initial letters. It is called the kyriologic, because it expresses the objects *properly*, and not tropically. The other is the symbolic, which makes no use of letters, but only pictures. But the symbolic has again, first, a *proper* method, *κυριολογεῖται*, by imitation; that is, by a proper picture without allegory: secondly, *tropic*, because it makes use of pictures, from a certain similarity which they bear to the object they are intended to signify; therefore what we usually call hieroglyphic writing: thirdly, properly allegoric by riddles, where no such similarity exists, or is too distant to be perceived. This is farther explained by examples; and these confirm the correctness of our interpretation. The example of the proper method by representation is the picture of the sun and the moon. The example of the tropic is the sacred traditions in praise of the kings, of which many

are found in Herodotus, which cannot be understood in their proper signification. The example of the enigmatic is the indication of the course of the stars by a serpent, the sun by a beetle, etc. In this way every obscurity seems to me to be cleared up; and the discovery of the phonetic hieroglyphics furnishes a key to the proper meaning of the passage above quoted from Clemens Alexandrinus.

II. *Inscription on an Obelisk at Heliopolis; extracted from AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, lib. xvii, 4; and some remarks on the sacred dialect ἱερὰ διάλεκτος in SYNCELLUS.*

Marcellinus has preserved to us, from the writings of a certain Hermapion, the Greek translation of a hieroglyphic inscription on an obelisk, which stood originally at Heliopolis in Lower Egypt, but which was transported to Rome by Cæsar Augustus, and placed in the Circus Maximus. The following are the words of Ammianus: "Qui notarum textus obelisco incisus est veteri, quem videmus in Circo, Hermapionis librum secuti, interpretatum litteris subjecimus Græcis." Of this Hermapion we only know what Ammianus says, that he had written a book containing translations of hieroglyphics into Greek. He therefore must have understood hieroglyphic writing and language. It is very probable that he was an Egyptian priest, who, in

the period of the Ptolemies or Romans, had written a book of this kind for the use of the Greeks. (See page 204).

I give a translation of this inscription here for two reasons: first, to prove the correctness of my assertion, that the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments contain phrases in praise of the deities and kings, with their names and titles (see page 41). Secondly, to prove that the titles deciphered by Champollion are pure Egyptian, without however vouching for the correctness of every interpretation. A commentary upon the inscription would require a separate treatise, and would contain but little that has not already been said by ZOEGA (*de Obeliscis*, p. 26, etc.), and CHAMPOLLION (*Précis*, p. 146, etc.).

I shall only farther remark, that as the obelisk was erected at Heliopolis, it was natural that the deities worshipped there should be more especially mentioned on it, as the protecting deities of the king.

These names are expressed in Greek; the following are Egyptian: Helios, the god of the Sun, *Phré*. All the Pharaohs, according to Champollion, p. 166, were called sons of the sun. Apollo, in Egyptian *Arveris*; Ares, in Egyptian *Som*; (?) finally, Hephaistos, in Egyptian *Phtha*.

The king to whose honour the obelisk was erected is called Ramesses; but we have seen that there were several of this name. From his

history we only know that he conquered the foreigners (ἀλλοεθνείς). This applies to Ramesses the Great, or Sesostris, the expeller of the Hyksos (see p. 303). The titles here given also agree very well with him. The expulsion of the foreigners must have been of great importance to Heliopolis in Lower Egypt, which had been most oppressed by them.

INSCRIPTION.

“ Thus says Helios to the king Ramesses : I have given to thee with joy to rule over the world ; whom Helios loves, and Apollo the powerful the true son of Heron, the son of the gods, the ruler of the world, chosen by Helios the brave, son of Ares, king Ramesses, to whom all the earth is subject by valour and boldness ; the king Ramesses, the son of Helios, the everlasting.¹”

“ Apollo the powerful, the true lord of the diadem², of whom Egypt boasts ; who has glorified the city of Helios ; who rules over the earth ; and who honours the gods dwelling in the city of Helios ; whom Helios loves.”

“ Apollo the powerful, the beaming son of Helios, chosen of Helios, and who was gifted by Ares the brave ; whose benefits never fail, whom

¹ The separate phrases στίχοι, form just so many vertical columns on the obelisk. CHAMPOLLION, *Precis*, p. 146.

² Here there seems to be an omission of, *to the Ramesses*. As in the fourth paragraph.

Ammon loves; who fills the temple of Phœnix with blessings³; to whom the gods presented length of life; Apollo the powerful, the son of Heron, Ramesses to the king of the world; who has protected Egypt, by conquering the strangers; whom Helios loves, to whom the gods have given long life, the lord of the world, Ramesses the ever-living."

"Helios, the great god, the lord of heaven, I have to thee given life free from care, Apollo the powerful, the lord of the diadem, the incomparable, the statue has placed in this royal city of the lord of Egypt, and has adorned the city of Helios, and Helios himself the lord of heaven. He has completed the glorious work, the son of Helios, the immortal king."

"Helios the lord of heaven; to king Ramesses have I given might and power; whom Apollo loves, the lord of time, and the chosen of Hephaistos the father of the gods through Ares, the glorious king: the son of Helios beloved of Helios."

"The great god of the city of Helios, the heavenly, Apollo the mighty, the son of Heron, whom Helios loves, whom the gods honour, who governs all the earth, whom Helios has chosen, the powerful king through Ares, whom Ammon loves; and the beaming one destined to be king for ever."

The translation of this inscription moreover

³ Or, according to another reading, *with the blessings of the Phœnix.*

seems to me important, because it brings us acquainted both with the contents and forms of these documents; because it acquaints us, to use a modern expression, with the style and language of the chancery of the Egyptians. It is in the nature of things, that this should differ from the language in common use. And I perfectly agree with professor Seyffarth of Leipzig, in making a difference between the Coptic as the language of the people, and what is called the sacred language, *ἱερὰ διάλεκτος*. But if this difference is so great, that the key for the deciphering of the hieroglyphic texts is not to be found in the Coptic, I do not know where else it is to be sought for. It seems very doubtful to me, whether we ought, from the single passage in Syncellus⁴, in which a *ἱερὰ διάλεκτος* is mentioned, to understand a sacred dialect, altogether different from the vulgar; because this *ἱερὰ διάλεκτος* is here by no means opposed to the Coptic, or language of the nation, but to the Grecian. At all events this difference can have no influence on the deciphering of the names of the Pharaohs, and certainly but very little, if any,

⁴ GEORG. SYNCELLUS, in *Chronographia*, p. 40, ed. Paris. *Μανεθὼ χρηματίσας ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σηριαδικῇ γῇ κειμένων στηλῶν, ἱερᾷ φησι διαλέκτῳ καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι κεχακτηρισμένων ὑπὸ Θῶθ, καὶ ἐρμηνευθεισῶν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνήν*, etc. Is not the opposition spoken of in the text, evident from these last words? Is an opposition made in them to the native language of the people? I think not. Before the passage can have any weight as a proof, the new reading proposed by ZOEGA, *de Obeliscis*, p. 36, note, must be adopted, who, instead of *εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνήν*, would read *εἰς τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον*. This however admits of a doubt.

on that of their titles, of which alone use has been made in the present work.

III. *A comparison of the Egyptian kings, as given by HERODOTUS, DIODORUS, and MANETHO.*

In attempting here a comparison of the series of the Egyptian kings, it is not my intention to make them agree where they do not, but rather to show the relation in which they stand to one another in these writers. I flatter myself that even this attempt may lead to important results.

I shall proceed upon the principle, which I think sufficiently established in this work, that all the three writers drew from the tradition of the Egyptian priests, oral and written; but with this difference, that Herodotus used, in his succession of kings, the tradition of the priests at Memphis; Diodorus that of Thebes; and Manetho that of Heliopolis. From this variety of sources, the difference in their statements may be best accounted for.

I place first in one table the succession of kings according to Herodotus and Diodorus.

HERODOTUS, II, 99—182.

Menes.

He was followed by 330 kings belonging to the previous period, concerning whom nothing was known but their names, because they had left no monuments behind; among those sovereigns were 18 Ethiopians, and 1 queen, named Nitocris.

*Mæris.**Sesostris.**Pheron*, the son of Sesostris.

Proteus, in the time of the Trojan war.

Rhampsinitus.

Cheops, builder of the great pyramid.

Chephres, brother to the foregoing, builder of one pyramid.

Mycerinus, son of Cheops, builder of one pyramid.

DIODORUS, I, p. 54—82.

Menes.

Followed by 52 successors, ranging over a period of more than 1400 years.

Busiris I. and 8 successors; the last of whom was

Busiris II. the founder of Thebes.

Osymandyas and 8 successors; the last of whom was

Uchoreus, the founder of Memphis.

Ægyptus, grandson of the foregoing. After the lapse of 12 generations of men,

Mæris.

7 generations of men.

Sesostris or *Sesoosis.*

Sesostris II. son of the foregoing: he assumed his father's name.

Interval comprising several generations of men.

Amasis, and the Ethiopian.*Actisanes.*

Mendes, or *Manes*, the builder of the labyrinth.

Anarchy which lasted 5 generations of men.

Proteus or *Cetes*, in the time of the Trojan war.

Remphis, son of the foregoing.

7 generations of men, in the course of which flourished *Nileus*, from whom the Nile took its name.

Chemmis or *Chembes*, from Memphis, builder of the great pyramid.

Cephren, brother to the foregoing, builder of one pyramid.

Mycerinus, son of Chemmis, builder of one pyramid.

HERODOTUS.

Asychis the legislator.
Anysis, who was blind.

Sabaco, the Ethiopian.
Anysis, king for the second time.

Sethos, a priest of Vulcan.

Dodecarchy.

Psammetichus, from Sais, sole ruler.

Nechos, his son, conqueror in Syria.

Psammis.

Apries, with whom the house of *Psammetichus* becomes extinct.

Amasis of Sais.

Psammenit, conquered by Cambyses.

DIODORUS.

Bochoris the legislator.

Interval of several generations of men.

Sabaco, the Ethiopian.

Dodecarchy.

Psammetichus, from Sais, sole ruler.

4 generations of men.

Apries.

Amasis, defeated and taken by Cambyses.

In order to judge of the statements of the two writers, it is necessary that we should consider them each separately in their true light.

As to Diodorus, we perceive clearly that it was not his intention to give a complete and connected succession of Egyptian kings. He only mentioned such as were most remarkable, either because the accounts of the Theban priests contained no others, or because—which seems the more probable of the two—his intention was only to give extracts from them. He does not, however, totally neglect chronology; but endeavours, by stating the number of generations which lived between the kings he mentions, to fill up the chasms. But that it is im-

possible to settle the chronology by these, is clear from the fact, that two chasms of many generations occur, without the number being stated.

The tradition of the priests of Memphis, which was followed by Herodotus, was still more deficient; it consisted of only two elements. Previous to Sesostris, or his predecessor Mœris, it comprised merely the names of three hundred and thirty kings, "because they had left us no monuments behind;" and from Sesostris down to Psammetichus, only of such kings as had made additions to the great temple at Memphis, that of Phtha, and the neighbouring pyramids, no matter whether they had resided in Memphis or in Thebes, or in both. It is therefore a history dependent upon monuments. But the priests gave it to him, from Sesostris downwards, as an uninterrupted succession, in which the father was always followed by the son; and as such he gives it to us.

But that such was not really the case, is clearly evinced by comparing it with Diodorus's account. We therefore can only consider them as separate kings; and by so doing, Herodotus, except in the correct spelling of a few names, is brought to agree with Diodorus. There is no contradiction between them.

But if Herodotus's succession of kings is not a continuous one, it is impossible to build upon it a continuous chronology; as would also have been the case even if the length of each reign

had been stated ; which has not been done previous to the time of Psammetichus. Nevertheless Herodotus has left us an important help for determining the chronology, when he says, "Mœris, the predecessor of Sesostris, died nine hundred years before the time that I was in Egypt." And since, from his own reckoning, he was in Egypt about the year 450, the death of Mœris must, according to his calculation, have taken place about 1350 before the commencement of our era. And from this two important consequences result.

First: the age of Sesostris, a successor of Mœris, falls, according to Herodotus, in the midst of the fourteenth century before Christ. He certainly, therefore, places Sesostris a century later than we believe he should be. I am not able to give any further explanation, since Herodotus has withheld from us the data for his chronology. This discrepancy, however, does not affect the general statement respecting the chronology of the splendid period of Thebes.

Secondly: the three hundred and thirty kings previous to Mœris extend over this period.

Now let us inquire how the accounts of these two writers agree with those of Manetho. If we had his work entire, it would be the great authority for this history. The priesthood at Heliopolis was the most learned in Egypt (HEROD. ii. 3). He was superintendent of this

- body, and wrote, moreover, by command of Ptolemy. Their archives were open to him. "I have made use," he says, "of the writings in the *adytum* of the temple ; which Agathodæmon has copied and translated from the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments (obelisks) of 'Thos ⁵."

But even in the scanty extracts which have come down to us of the dynasties, however defective and corrupt the errors of transcribers may have made them with regard to dates, he must still be considered the principal authority. I make use of the Armenian edition of Eusebius, cited at page 102, containing a Greek and Latin translation, as being the most critical. I shall have no recourse to alteration or expunging of names, much less of whole dynasties. The single remark, however, must be borne in mind, that the Sesostris mentioned in the twelfth dynasty, is not Sesostris the Great ; and that the facts mentioned of him have been taken into the text, from a marginal gloss ; which is the less to be doubted from Manetho himself having declared, that Sethos or Sesostris of the nineteenth dynasty was the same as Ramesses. This being admitted, the great masses of history are easily arranged.

A comparison with Herodotus cannot begin

⁵ SYNCELLUS, l. c. It seems therefore from this passage of Manetho, that the historical documents in the temples were commentaries and translations of the inscriptions upon the monuments ; or were esteemed as such. Compare ZOËGA, *De Obeliscis*, p. 36.

before the time of Sesostris, and the period of the Sesostridæ; because previous to this he has given no names of kings. But the priests read to him the names of three hundred and thirty monarchs. But who are these? They are the first seventeen dynasties of Manetho. For, first, the number of kings coincides. Eusebius certainly enumerates only two hundred and seventy-six; but of two dynasties, the sixth, lasting two hundred and three years, and the tenth, lasting one hundred and eighty-five years, the number of kings is not given. It therefore may have amounted to the number mentioned by Herodotus. Secondly, according to Herodotus, there was, among these three hundred and thirty sovereigns, one queen, whose name was Nitocris; she is also named by Manetho, in his sixth dynasty. Thirdly, according to Herodotus eighteen of them were Ethiopians. According to Manetho the fourth dynasty, consisting of seventeen kings, was a foreign one; and one of them, Suphis, who built the great pyramid ascribed by Herodotus to Cheops, was in the beginning a calumniator of the gods, which was also related of Cheops by the priests of Memphis. Fourthly, according to Herodotus these three hundred and thirty sovereigns had not immortalised themselves by any monuments. The same applies, with the exception of Suphis, to the kings of the first seventeen dynasties of Manetho. This fact, then, cannot be doubted: the question is, how the names

of Manetho's kings, from the nineteenth dynasty, agree with those of Herodotus and Diodorus. A general agreement is found here, but not without discrepancies. In Manetho they begin with Sethos or Sesostris, who was succeeded by his son, who, according to Diodorus, adopted the name of his father. In Manetho he is called Rhamasses or Ramesses, and then, as according to him the father was called so too, there can be no contradiction. The following names differ down to Bochoris⁶, who is mentioned also by Diodorus, and who was overthrown by the Ethiopian Sabaco. The difference in the other names may be accounted for, in my opinion, from the circumstance, that the kings of the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third dynasties, were kings of Tanis and Bubastus; whose names therefore can scarcely be expected to be found in the tradition of the Theban priests. That the dynasties of Tanis and Bubastus ruled in these cities, has been shown in the last chapter. The only difficulty that remains therefore is, why the names of the kings mentioned by Diodorus between Menes and Moëris, Busiris, Osymandyas, Uchoreus, and Ægyptus, do not occur in Manetho. Upon this I have nothing certain to offer. They

⁶ See above, p. 302, note. The attempt there (namely, in Manetho) to identify Thonis with the Polybus of Homer, is a bad proof of the learning of the Greek interpreters in Egypt. Polybus, who with his consort Alcandra made such splendid presents to Menelaus and Helen, is not called king by Homer, *Odyssey*, iv. 125—130, but expressly an inhabitant of Thebes.

might, however, have belonged to the sixth and tenth dynasties, of which Manetho has left out the number and names of the kings.

IV. *Upon the Relation between Theocracy and the Monarchical form of Government.*

The study of the early government of Egypt naturally leads us to reflections upon theocracy, as this form of government arrived in no state at so high a point of perfection as in Egypt. The question is, what relation does this form of government bear to monarchy? And this will be best answered by taking a rapid survey of governments in general.

We make a distinction between republics and monarchies. One might expect that, after so many inquiries and so much experience, the nature of them would be understood, if our modern constitutions, which are considered as the ripest fruit of political wisdom, did not convince us to the contrary. I refer the reader to my treatise on the influence of political theories and the preservation of the monarchical principle in Europe, in which I have fully explained my opinions on this subject. I have there shown, that it is impossible to draw a line between monarchies and republics, so long as we apply popular sovereignty to monarchies; for it is the essence of monarchies that the ruler

should be absolute (*supremus*); that is to say, that he alone should represent the state in foreign relations, and that in the interior nothing should be transacted but in accordance with his will: he thus stands *over* the people. The essence of republics, on the contrary, is, that the sovereign power is in the hands of the people, or a part of them; consequently, all magistrates, whatever title they may bear, are *subordinate* to them.

The monarchical forms of government, for these only come here under consideration, are determined by the relation in which the monarch stands with the people; which, without detriment to his sovereignty, may be of three kinds.

The *despotic* government consists in that relation between the monarch and the people, which places in the hands of the monarch not only the legislative and executive power, but also a power over the property and persons of individuals, of which he may dispose according to his will. For all despotism consists in the arbitrary encroachments of the higher upon the rights of the lower order. The monarch therefore, in this case, is proprietor of the persons and goods of his subjects: they are, in name and in fact, slaves or serfs, as in the Negro empire of Dahomey and others.

The *autocratic* government consists in that relation between the monarch and the people, which confers upon the ruler the legislative and

executive authority, but gives him no power over the private will of individuals. It is therefore perfectly consistent with personal liberty, but excludes political liberty, since it gives to the governed no share in the legislation. The people are no longer slaves, but subjects.

The *constitutional* government consists in that relation between the monarch and the people, in which the former certainly exercises the executive, but not solely the legislative power. The people have a share in this, either in popular assemblies, or by standing or chosen representatives; but still with this essential restriction, that without the consent of the monarch no law can be passed. Under this form of government the people enjoy both personal and political liberty—they are not only subjects, but citizens.

Let us now inquire in what relation theocracy stands with these various forms of monarchical government.

I understand by theocracy, that form of government in which the state is governed after the prescriptive laws of one or more deities. If the deity resided amongst us, he might govern immediately, and would thus be sovereign, and no other could stand near him; as this however is not the case, it follows, of course, that at least the executive power must be delegated to a monarch. Though the deity may prescribe laws for particular cases, it is not possible that they should contain directions for every case that

might happen ; hence the authority of the deities becomes principally limited to this, that nothing can be transacted without their consent.

Their will therefore must be consulted, their oracles interrogated. If the ruler did this himself, he found it no difficult matter to make them speak as he wished ; he then stood, as it were, in the place of the deity himself, and instead of his power being limited thereby, it was rather extended. In consequence of this, it was usual in theocratic states to consider the usurpation of this power by the king as unlawful. Samuel broke with Saul as soon as he took upon himself to consult Jēhovah. This right the priests reserved to themselves, and this was the foundation of their political power.

Theocracy, therefore, determines nothing with respect to the relation in which the ruler stands towards the people ; it determines only the relation in which he stands towards the deity. It is compatible with the despotic and the autocratic form of government ; only however with the essential restriction, that the relation of the priesthood to the monarchs differs from that of the rest of the people. With a representative government it seems to be incompatible ; because the delegation of such a power would be superfluous here, where it seems already usurped by the priesthood.

But a theocracy may very well be composed of laws, as was the case in Egypt and other places. These laws, however, necessarily re-

quired a higher sanction—that of the Deity—and therefore not only appeared to have, but had in reality, the efficacy of divine legislation. It follows as a consequence, that in all the Oriental countries legislation bears this character; government there having always been in a certain degree theocratic.

In a strict theocracy the ruler cannot possess absolute power, because there is a higher will in the state than his. Gradations, however, become naturally formed in theocracies; as monarchs cannot, or will not, question the deity upon every occasion: they also vary with the personal character of the rulers. The power of the ruler must, nevertheless, always be in a vacillatory state in a theocracy; because, from its very nature, it is impossible to determine precisely its relation with the deity.

That theocracy is also compatible with republican government, and to what extent, will appear from what has now been said. It would happen when the people in general obtained power, as in a democracy, or only a part of them, as in an aristocracy. Did not the auspices, so influential in the Roman government, give it a tinge of theocracy?

V. Upon the commercial routes of Ancient Africa.

As I have annexed an Appendix to my Researches upon Asia respecting the trading routes

of that quarter of the world, I shall now do the same for Africa. It is true that I have scattered much information respecting them over the whole work, and that I have scarcely any thing new to add. My object, however, now is, to point out each route to the reader, with the bare quotations which prove their existence, so that he may be in a situation to form his own judgment respecting them. In this I shall likewise carefully distinguish the certain from the merely probable, as I have already done in the body of the work. In doing this I hope I shall have sufficiently fulfilled the duties of a fair critic. To facilitate the survey, I have distinguished the trading highways of the Carthaginians and the Egyptians, although they are connected, from one another.

I. THE CARTHAGINIAN ROUTES.

Under the Carthaginian trading routes I comprise those which led from the Carthaginian dominions or ended there, including that between Egypt and Fezzan, or Phazania, because that leading thence to the Syrtes districts was only a continuation of it.

1. *Route from Egypt to the country of the Garamantes, or Fezzan.*

It goes from Thebes in Upper Egypt to the borders of the land of the Garamantes near Zuila. It is certain, because HERODOTUS, iv. 181—185, describes it by stations and distances, across Ammonium and Augila. The omission of two stations, the great Oasis and Zala, (whether chargeable upon Herodotus or upon those from whom he obtained his information, the first of which however Herodotus himself refers to, iii. 26.) forms no objection; because, where the beginning and end of the journey are known, the intermediate stations are easily supplied, though they should not be all named.

2. *Route from the Garamantes to the Lotophagi in the two Syrtes, and therefore into the territory of Carthage.*

It is certain from Herodotus, iv. 183, who states the number of the days' journeys, and this is most accurately confirmed by modern travellers. See vol. i. p. 214, sqq. Both these routes are the ones now in use.

3. *The route from the land of the Garamantes to that of the Atlantes.*

This is a continuation of the two preceding routes; and it runs in a southern direction into

the interior of Africa. It depends upon the determination of the abode of the Atarantes and Atlantes. These are not given as historically certain, but as possessing a high degree of probability; because—1. No other direction can be reasonably adopted; and nothing in Herodotus contradicts it. Because—2. The distances agree; and—3. Not less the particulars respecting it. And finally,—4. It still continues the great trading route of interior Africa, as well to Bornou as Soudan.

A single apparent objection against this is, that the Atlantes, from their name, must be sought for in the Atlas mountain. That this, however, is not a necessary consequence must be plain to every one. But the difficulty is without any weight; for the name of the Atlas mountain is not a native African one, but is one bestowed upon it by the Greeks. According to the testimony of Strabo⁷, the mountain in Africa itself is called the Dyris mountain; and this name bears no affinity to the native proper name of the Atlantes. Why the trading route was directed to the Atlantes, is likewise in a very satisfactory manner proved by modern travellers. The Garamantes, Nasamones, and Carthaginians could give Herodotus no further information, because *their* trading journey ended here.

That the trade of Inner Africa could only be

⁷ STRABO, lib. xvi. p. 1181.

carried on by caravans, is evinced by the nature of the country and of its inhabitants. It is proved that it was principally in the hands of the inhabitants of the Syrtes and the Garamantes; because—1. The people from their nomad life were best adapted to it, and were in possession of the necessary beasts of burden for carrying it on. SCYLAX, in *Geograph. Min.* i. p. 48. 2. Because Herodotus, as he says himself, could have obtained his information respecting it from them in Thebes. HEROD. ii. 28, 32, 173. 3. Because they made regular journeys to Augila, HEROD. iv. 172, and visited Ammonium, HEROD. ii. 32. 4. Because there can be no doubt but that their voyage of discovery, HEROD. ii. 32, reached to the banks of the Niger, or Joliba; as the accounts of Herodotus can be referred to no other stream. And this, *a.* Because it was a large stream beyond the desert, and we know of no other there. *b.* It flowed towards the east. There is no other that does. *c.* Crocodiles were found in it. We know of no other in which they are found. *d.* On its banks was a city inhabited by Negroes. This will agree with no other. According to the rules of criticism, unless this can be altogether denied, I must consider the discovery of the Joliba by the Nasamones as certain. And admitting that the seat of the Atlantes is correctly determined to be the place of barter for the Libyans and the inhabitants of Soudan, how natural does all this appear?

The Nasamones wished them to advance beyond the usual termination of their journey; and by doing so they naturally came to the Niger, because they were upon the high road to it⁸. That also beasts of burden, namely the camel (it has been attempted to render this doubtful, and what is there of which man has not doubted?) and mules were at that time naturalised in Africa, has already been proved in the last chapter upon the trade and manufactures of the Egyptians.

II. THE EGYPTIAN COMMERCIAL ROUTES.

Under this head I comprise such roads as led from Egypt, or ended there. In the time of Herodotus all these went from Thebes; as at that place he obtained all his information respecting the interior of Africa, and from that place all his distances are reckoned.

1. *Trading route from Thebes to the land of the Garamantes and the Carthaginian territory.*

This has just been described.

2. *Trading route from Thebes to Ethiopia and Meroë.*

It was twofold: *a.* That along the banks of the Nile, and partly on the Nile. It is *certain*

⁸ Upon the map of course only the direct road can be given.

from HEROD. ii, 29, who has described it in days' journeys.

b. That from Thebes to Merawé, the colony of Meroë, across the Nubian desert. It can scarcely be doubted, although not strictly proved from history. See p. 466 of the foregoing volume.

c. The French have given it as their opinion, that a trading road went on the left of the Nile, from Merawé to Abydos in Upper Egypt, then the later principal seat of the Ethiopian slave-trade⁹. As Abydos was one of the most important cities of Egypt, and only second to Thebes, STRABO, p. 1167, and as the Ethiopian conquerors seemed to have fixed their residence there, I cannot consider this opinion otherwise than as *very probable*, although I can give no other historical proofs in its favour.

3. *Trading route from Edfu in Upper Egypt to the Arabian gulf and Berenice.*

This was discovered to be an Egyptian trading route by Belzoni¹⁰; and from the remains of Egyptian buildings being found upon it, its high antiquity is certainly *very probable*; though I can give no strict proof of it. According to another account¹¹, a broad *trading route runs*

⁹ *Descript. Antiquités*, liv. iii. p. 18.

¹⁰ *Narrative*, p. 304, etc.

¹¹ From *Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and Italy*, by the author of *Sketches of India*, Lond. 1824.

from *Thebes to Cosseir*, the ancient *Myos Hormos*; which for two-thirds of the distance winds between rocky hills. Whether it existed in the time of the Pharaohs, I cannot determine; but if these maintained fleets upon the Arabian gulf, there certainly must have been well-frequented roads leading to it; and the direction from Thebes makes its high antiquity very probable.

4. *Trading route from Meröë to the Arabian gulf.*

It is pointed out by the ruins of Axum and Adule. Cf. PLIN. vi, 34.

5. *Trading route from Memphis to Phœnicia.*

The proofs of this have already been given in my researches upon the Asiatic Phœnician trading routes.

Thus much of the trading roads, and their proofs in detail. A still stronger proof may be given of them in general: as the nature of the country admitted no other kind of trade, and no other roads, we are driven to this alternative; either there was a period in which the coasts of Africa were the seats of a commercial population without the existence of any commerce in the interior, (whose productions nevertheless appeared in it in large quantities;) or, it was carried on in this way and upon these routes, because it was indissolubly connected with nature.

APPENDIX.

IX. *See Vol. I, p. 288.*

SINCE the year 1825, when the last German edition of this work appeared, considerable advances have been made in the exploration of the interior of Africa. By the travels of Denham and Clapperton not only (as was remarked at p. 228,) has the position of the kingdom of Bornou, formerly placed eight degrees too far eastward, been corrected, so that its western frontier town Lari, and Angornow, lie under the same meridian as Mourzouk in Fezzan, thus the continuation of the road by Bilma, the seat of the Atlantes, brings us directly upon it, but also the kingdom of Cuffa and the Fellatahs, to which however no information of the ancients extend, are by their means freed from obscurity.

The question too respecting the mouth of the Joliba, is, according to the public Journals, now decided by the journey of Lander, the former servant of Clapperton, in such a way that this river, changing its eastward course, and turning westward, discharges itself into the Atlantic ocean in the Bight of Benin; for that traveller, sailing down this stream, reached the sea in that bay, and thus ascertained that the mouths of the Benin river are those of the Joliba: we still,

however, hope for more exact information on this matter.

But even now the general course of the rivers of Northern Africa or Soudan is very imperfectly known, and the question how it came to be believed by the ancients (a belief which still exists) that the Nile flows from the west, and that it communicates with the Joliba, remains unanswered. It has been remarked already, that this opinion prevailed as early as Herodotus, and that he or his informants founded upon it their idea, that the stream which he knew of and which the Nasamones had discovered was the Nile. As long as the size of the large lake Tsaad discovered by Denham and Clapperton is unknown, and the course of the White river remains unexplored to its source, so long is there still a possibility, that, at least during the annual inundations, such a connection of their waters may still exist.

A recent historian, the late B. G. Niebuhr, has given a sense to the words of Herodotus, by which a completely erroneous idea of the Geography of the interior of Africa is attributed to him¹. He assumes that, according to Herodotus, the course of the Nile *immediately above Egypt or Elephantis* must be considered as flowing from the west. To agree with this, all that Herodotus places to the south of Egypt up to

¹ *A Dissertation on the Geography of Herodotus, with a Map; and Researches into the History of the Scythians, Getæ, and Sarmatians*, translated from the German of B. G. NIEBUHR, in 8vo. Oxford, 1830.

Meroë, and the country of the Automoli (the emigrants of the Egyptian warrior caste) falls to the westward: so that on his map Meroë is placed on the southern frontier of Fezzan, the land of the Garamantes; and the Automoli near Bilma. This view of the subject is one of those paradoxes which are so abundant in this writer, though we willingly do justice to his acuteness and learning in other respects. But though Herodotus brings the Nile from the west, and founds upon this notion the conjecture (for only as such does he give it, ii, 33), that the Nile in Libya runs parallel with the Danube in Europe; he has *no where* stated that this is its direction immediately above Egypt and Elephantis. He rather asserts the contrary, since he makes it first run by the Automoli; and according to his notion the stream which the Nasamones discovered is probably the Nile (ii, 32, 33). But they did not reach this river till they had crossed the desert, consequently it lay much deeper in Africa. Besides, how could Herodotus have formed such an opinion when he not only clearly drew his knowledge from persons who had followed the course of the stream above Egypt to Meroë, but had also—he himself having been at Elephantis (ii, 31)—seen the contrary?

The long celebrated Tombuctoo also has been at last reached by the French traveller Caillié, and described by him in his *Voyage à Tombuctoo* (p. 292). It is true, that in splendour and size

it is far from answering the expectation previously entertained respecting it. Nevertheless it still appears as an important place of trade, especially as a staple for salt, so considerable an article of commerce even in ancient times.

How old the present Tombuctoo may be we do not know; the name does not occur in Edrisi, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century; but is found in Leo Africanus in the fifteenth. But Ptolemy (*Geograph.* iv, 6), places his *Niger-Metropolis* on the north side of the Niger, in lat. $17^{\circ} 40'$ and long. 25° , which, after the reduction of the degrees of longitude necessary with him, gives 18° long. from Ferro, which suits the spot on which Tombuctoo stands in our latest maps. This then shows at least thus much, that in *his* age a considerable town existed in the neighbourhood of the modern Tombuctoo; whether such was the case in that of Herodotus we are unable to determine.

ADDITIONAL APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

X. *The Travels of Mr. Hoskins into Ethiopia.*

Travels in Ethiopia, above the second cataract of the Nile, exhibiting the state of that country, and its various inhabitants, under the dominion of Mohamed Ali, and illustrating the Antiquities, Arts, and History of the ancient Kingdom of Meroë, by G. A. Hoskins, Esq., with a map, and ninety illustrations of the temples, pyramids, etc. of Meroë, Gibel el Birkel, Solib, etc., from drawings finished on the spot, by the author, and an artist whom he employed. Large 4to. xvi and 367 pp. 1835. Longman and Co.

This is the most extensive work that has been yet published upon ancient Ethiopia, and especially upon Meroë, which was the great object of the author's journey, and for which he prepared himself not only by a long abode in Greece and Italy, in order to study the monuments of these countries, but also in Egypt, where he resided a whole year, for the same purpose. He set out from Thebes in Upper Egypt, February 1st, 1833, penetrated as far as the ancient city of Meroë, and arrived, on his return, at Wadi Alfa, the second cataract of the Nile, on the 16th of June, when his account closes, so that his journey into Ethiopia lasted four months and a half. His retinue consisted of twelve persons whom he hired to accompany him; among them

was an expert Italian painter named Baldoni, to whom we are mainly indebted for the beautiful drawings by which the descriptions are illustrated. The work is cast in the form of a journal; to which are added four chapters on the history and affairs of ancient Meroë.

It will be unnecessary, however, for us to follow the author step by step; it will be sufficient for our purpose to select such parts of his work as may serve to extend our knowledge of these remote regions. He obtained from the Ababdés, after some delay, eleven camels, the number he required. From Philæ, he at first followed the course of the river, but left it to cross the Nubian deserts to Korosko, which are already known by the Travels of Bruce and Burkhart, whom this author always mentions with great respect. The party only in one place met with water, which was salt; the skeletons of famished travellers and dead camels were lying in heaps along the way. Near Macharif, the present capital of Nubia, they again reached the Nile, and henceforward continued their journey along the river; and thus, after passing the conflux of the Astaboras and the Nile, they arrived on the 4th of March at Meroë, the ancient capital of Ethiopia. The town has entirely disappeared; the Necropolis with its pyramids alone remains. With these we are already acquainted from the accounts of Caillaud; but the descriptions and drawings here given us are much more complete and accurate. "Never," says he, "were

my feelings more ardently excited than in approaching, after so tedious a journey, to this magnificent Necropolis. The appearance of the pyramids in the distance announced their importance; but I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectations when I found myself in the midst of them. The pyramids of Geezah are magnificent, but for picturesque effect and elegance of architectural design, I infinitely prefer those of Meroë. I expected to find few such remains here, and certainly nothing so imposing, so interesting as these sepulchres, doubtless of the kings and queens of Ethiopia. I stood for awhile lost in admiration. From every point of view I saw magnificent groups, pyramid rising behind pyramid, whilst the dilapidated state of many did not render them less interesting, though less beautiful as works of art. I easily restored them in my imagination, and these effects of the ravages of time carried back my thoughts to more distant ages." The author first gives the position of the single pyramids in a general plan, in which we remark twenty-one in greater or less preservation, as well as the traces of several others. These, however, are only the pyramids of the principal group, which the author first reached, on the west side of the river. But he mentions three groups, in which eighty pyramids may be counted. The principal group is situate on a hill, two miles and a half from the river. Drawings of some of them are given in the following part of his work, with their

dimensions. The largest is sixty feet high, and the same in diameter. Most of them may be ascended, but others are without steps. One has a window, but it is only an architectural ornament, and not for the purpose of admitting light. All have a portico with an entrance, which always faces the west. The principal group contains thirty-one pyramids, and the plan of twenty-three of them may be distinctly traced. Another group contains thirteen; two out of three other groups consist each of two; a third, of six. At the distance of 6,500 feet from the chief group towards the west may be discerned the remains of twenty-six pyramids, all of them, however, in ruins. The porticoes generally contain a room from six to twelve feet in length and as many in breadth, the façades of which are much ornamented. We may clearly recognise in them, says the author, the origin of the Egyptian propylons. At the end of most of these porticoes, opposite to the entrance, there is the representation of a monolithic temple, with sculptures, which are, however, much defaced. It is evident that attempts have been made, either from curiosity or rapacity, to break open several of these temples. Nowhere is there the slightest vestige of their having contained corridors; probably they were erected over wells, in which the bodies were deposited. The entrance of one of these porticoes was arched, from which the author infers that the Egyptians were acquainted with the arch, which he con-

siders to have originated in Ethiopia. But the example of a single one, which may possibly have been built at a later period, is by no means conclusive. And even had the arch been known in Egypt, it could not have been introduced in the temples, where every thing was done in conformity to the strict rules laid down by the priests, from which no departure was allowed.

The walls of the portico are adorned with sculptures, of which fac-similes are here given. They consist of processions with libations and sacrifices, in honour of a goddess, or as the author supposes, a queen represented as a goddess. The principal figure, which is in a sitting posture, is covered with a long close robe, which is not usual with Egyptian figures. The whole figure is unlike the Egyptians. It is also distinguished by marked corpulency, which, as is well known, is considered one of the principal beauties in the east. Two other sheets contain a representation of a second procession of the same kind, in which, however, it is impossible to determine the sex of the principal figure, or to distinguish whether it is a king or a queen. From the work of Caillaud we know that there are also representations of military subjects, such as the execution of prisoners, but none of these are here repeated. And whenever discrepancies are found between the drawings given here and those of Caillaud, the author vouches for the correctness of Mr. Baldoni's and of his own, the latter of which were executed partly with the

assistance of the camera lucida. The pyramids are of sandstone. The quarries from which they were built are still to be seen in the mountains. Time, and the effects of a tropical sun, have given them a brownish, almost a black tinge. The climate is, however, favourable to the preservation of these monuments. Hence the dilapidated condition of many of them is the most convincing proof of their great age.

There are no remains of the ancient city of Meroë, except some masonry, and some of the bricks of which, according to Strabo, the houses were built. As at Memphis, there is scarcely a vestige of a temple or palace: the City of the Dead alone remains! Gazelles now fearlessly pasture upon the plain which surrounded it; the neighbouring hills abound in wolves and hyænas. But the name Meroë still lives in that of a neighbouring village. From thence the author went to Shendy, which is sufficiently known from the accounts of Burkhardt. The town now only contains from 3000 to 3,500 inhabitants, and from six to seven hundred houses. The bazaar is chiefly appropriated to the sale of slaves and camels; sheep and goats are also sold there. The coloured portraits of its inhabitants, of both sexes, show that their complexion was brown but not black. Before their subjection to the pacha of Egypt, Shendy, Dongolah, and other towns, had their own chiefs (meleks), who were more or less subject to the great melek of Sennaar; these were so many petty tyrants, who,

with their families, constituted the aristocracy of the country. Now they are all subject to Hurschid Bey, the governor of Sennaar, who sends from five hundred to three thousand slaves annually to Cairo to the pacha.

From Shendy the author went, on the 9th of March, through the desert to the ruins of Mezara or Wadi Owataib, which are already known from Caillaud, and drawings of which are again given here ; and reached them on the following day, the 10th of March. "I was surprised to find such extensive remains of antiquity in such a situation, as it were, in the interior of the desert. They consist of a building containing temples, courts, corridors, etc., which were not only destined for religious, but also for civil and domestic purposes, and upon the whole measured 2,854 feet in circumference. In the centre there is a small temple, forty-seven feet long and forty wide, which is evidently the principal temple. It is surrounded by a colonnade, which on the north side is double. The interior contains four columns. The temple is approached by a long corridor. At each side of the gate to which the corridor leads, there is a colossal image hewn in the wall ; but it is mutilated, the head and arms being wanting. The style of the one is tolerably good ; that of the other far inferior. An accurate notion of the buildings which surround the central temple cannot be conveyed by description ; they must be referred to in the plan. This is the building in which the reviewer in his in-

quiries respecting Meroë thought he recognised the old temple of the oracle of Ammon. He considered himself borne out in this assumption partly by its situation in the desert, according to the statement of Diodorus, and partly by the enigmatic plan of the building itself, whilst the four columns in the interior immediately suggest the idea that they were destined to support the sacred ship, by means of which, as is well known, the oracles of Ammon were delivered, and a representation of which may be seen on many of his temples in Thebes. This, however, was limited expressly to the central temple, as it is obvious that the surrounding buildings were not erected all at once, but gradually, as occasion required, and especially as residences for the priests. But the author, who elsewhere generally coincides in the opinions of the reviewer, here objects that the temple would have had hieroglyphs upon it. He cannot form any more definite conjecture as to its purpose than that the whole was perhaps a pleasure-castle of the king's, or that it may have served as a hospital. The reviewer is far from being bigoted to his own opinion, but no one can deny that its destination was of a religious nature, as the principal building was a temple, the smallness of which will not excite surprise when it is considered that it was intended for the reception of the ship of the oracle; and as for the want of hieroglyphs, the six columns of the portico, according to Caillaud, certainly appear to be fur-

nished with them. We willingly leave this to the judgment of the readers, especially as the reviewer has not made this assumption the basis of further hypothesis, and the above remark, that the whole building only arose gradually, also serves to explain the traces of Grecian architecture, as we know from Diodorus that the temple was still standing uninjured in the Ptolemaic age, in which king Ergamenes overthrew the priestly aristocracy.

From this monument the author went to the ruins of the temple of Abu-naga, of which nothing more than the area is given, and a drawing representing two pillars which are also without hieroglyphs. The author considers these from their style to be the oldest monuments of ancient Meroë, "for," he observes, "the absence of hieroglyphs is either a proof of the highest or of a later antiquity. From hence he intended to go to the ruins of Mezaurat, eleven miles distant, for the first accounts of which we are indebted to Caillaud; this plan, however, he was obliged to relinquish. Even at the ruins of Maga they had been disturbed by lions, whose vicinity was announced by their traces and their roar; it was only by kindling fires at night that they could scare them away. The danger to be apprehended from these unbidden guests in case they penetrated farther into the desert, was depicted as so great that his companions refused to follow him, and thus he saw himself reluctantly obliged to return. To ascend the white

river to its source the author considered at present impracticable, on account of the feelings which the inhabitants of its banks entertained towards the pacha of Egypt.

On the 14th of March the author set out from Shendy, on the opposite Metammah, on his return. He determined to return by another route, namely, to the west of the Nile, through the desert Bajoudah, his description of which is a valuable addition to our geographical knowledge. This desert is not destitute of trees and springs; the sand is not very deep, and in many places there was a pleasing prospect. The immediate object of his journey was Gibel el Birkel, with its monuments, and the place called Meraweh, in which the ancient name itself has been preserved, and in which, even without this, may be recognised a colony from ancient Meroë. They reached it on the 22nd of March. The plan and the drawings differ in many respects from those of Caillaud, but he assures us that he took the greatest pains to attain the utmost possible exactness, in which respect generally the author's work may claim the preference, as he had taken a skilful artist into his service for the purpose. The monuments here divide themselves into two classes, temples and pyramids. The temples stand at the foot of an isolated hill, 350 feet in height. Two of them are entirely in ruins, in consequence of the fall of a mountain; two are excavated in the rock; the others, eight in number, the remains of which may still be

perceived, are above ground. They are built in the Egyptian style, and upon them are inscribed the names of the three Pharaohs of the Egyptian dynasty, Sabaco, Senachus, Tarhako, who also reigned in Egypt, and whose reigns fall between 800 and 700 B. C., to which period must also be referred the erection of these monuments. The author has not only given an exact architectural description of them, with ground-plans and drawings, but also of the ornaments on their walls, representing processions and military scenes, which are already known from Caillaud, but are here drawn more minutely, for which we must refer the reader to the work itself. The Necropolis, consisting of pyramids, is divided into two parts; the one on the west side of the river, by Gibel el Birkel, the other on the east side near Nuri. They are in better preservation than those of ancient Meroë, and also have porticoes; the highest, near Nuri, is eighty-eight feet high. They are also of sandstone, and the reliefs around, and in the porticoes likewise, represent religious processions and military subjects. The spectacle of all these ruins produced a grand impression. "I felt," says the author, "that I was indubitably in the vicinity of a once rich and flourishing country." The pyramids may be ascended, but not without great trouble. The height of most of them is between thirty and sixty feet. The plan exhibits fourteen pyramids near Gibel el Birkel. Those at Nuri, on the east side of the river, are more dilapidated; the

author reckons them among the most ancient monuments; the number of those at Nuri is thirty-five, only fourteen of which are in any degree of preservation. The subjects described on the walls leave no doubt that they are the mausolea of kings and queens.

On the 3rd of April the author embarked at Meroweh on his return, descended the Nile, and on the 10th arrived at Dongolah. Dongolah is a lively town, and carries on a considerable trade with various parts. The bazaars were abundantly stocked, as were the slave markets, of which there were several, classed according to the difference of age and sex. The slaves chiefly came from Abyssinia; the greater part of them are sent to Egypt. Dongolah formerly had its own chiefs or meleks, but it is now under the supremacy of the pacha of Egypt, who has a governor there. Much interesting information is given concerning the inhabitants, and their manners and customs. He continued his journey upon the river, which he descended as far as the island Argo, in order to see and describe its antiquities. These consist of two prostrate colossal statues of grey granite. The faces are Egyptian, but the sculpture Ethiopian. They appear never to have been entirely finished. The author was here informed that a revolt had broken out in the province of Mahas, which it was necessary that he should traverse. As it was impossible to continue his journey in that direction, he was compelled to return to Dongolah.

It was not until the reduction of the insurgents had been effected that the journey could be continued, which was performed partly upon the Nile itself, but chiefly along its left bank. It has already been mentioned that his diary ends with his arrival at the second cataract of the Nile, at Wadi Halfa.

Four more chapters follow: the first two on the history of Meroë, the next on its trade, and the last on its art. The history of Meroë is founded upon those passages in sacred as well as profane writers, which mention that city; with the assistance, however, of the inscriptions in the temples, (as the names and titles of the Pharaohs in the hieroglyphic writing, which the author saw and carefully copied, are uniformly added,) whilst especial use has been made of the accounts of Rosellini, to whom the author does full justice. A field for investigation is here opened upon various points; (e. g. when the author identifies the Sethos of Herodotus with Tirhako,) but into which we cannot follow him without exceeding our limits. It may, however, be here remarked, that the author in these four chapters concurs upon the whole in the opinions of the reviewer, to which he often refers, and according to which Meroë was the mother-country of the worship of Ammon, which extended itself from thence, by means of colonies, into Egypt, and may consequently in so far be called the mother-country of civilisation, which stood in the closest connection with this wor-

ship; a connection, however, which was first extended and matured in Egypt. It would be superfluous to enlarge upon this subject here, as the reviewer must naturally refer to his writings. Thus much, however, he must observe, that gratified as he must be once more to see the results of those investigations confirmed by the testimony of an eye-witness, he must still protest against its being supposed (as has already been asserted in an English journal) that he subscribes to all the author's conclusions.

We have already alluded to the valuable copper-plates and vignettes with which the work is furnished, and which are in various respects highly instructive. This may especially be asserted of the coloured portraits of the races of those regions whose complexion may here be distinctly recognised. The vignettes represent, for the most part, landscapes, and are chiefly executed with the camera lucida. The larger sheets, which exhibit drawings of the monuments, give partly the general plans, partly the ruins in their present, and some of them in their former state, as far as this can still be recognised. At the end of the work there is a drawing on four large sheets, representing a grand procession in one of the royal sepulchres of Thebes (according to the author, Thutmosis III. c. 1500 B. C.), on which are delineated the three races, namely, the red or brown, the black and the white; besides which it exhibits various species of animals, even the giraffe and the elephant,

and many varieties of monkeys; other objects of trade, as described in Hal. III. 97 and 114, are also represented, concerning which the author has treated, and given an explanatory commentary. The large map annexed comprehends the whole region of the Nile with its rivers from $15\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. Lat. to its mouths.

XI. A comparison of the ideas put forth by the author upon the high antiquity of Egypt, with those of Champollion and Rosellini.

The progressive development of ethnographical science, and the more accurate examination and study of ancient monuments, have been of the utmost service to these researches; and in the various editions and translations of this work, which have been called for since its first appearance, (in a very imperfect form, in the year 1793,) it has been my earnest endeavour to keep pace with the age, and to take advantage of every new light which time and increasing information have brought to bear upon this subject. Egypt in this respect has been more highly favoured than any other country without the limits of Europe. Military and scientific expeditions have greatly extended our information respecting its monuments and history. One of the most important of these, so far as science is concerned, was undertaken in 1828 and 1829, at the expense of the governments of France and Tus-

cany, and placed under the direction of Champollion and Rosellini. To whom, indeed, could more properly have been confided such a charge than to the learned Orientalist to whom we are indebted for the learned essay upon the interpretation of hieroglyphics? To him was committed the task of examining and developing his own system upon the very spot to which it referred. A cruel destiny, however, did not allow him to put together the materials which he had collected; scarcely had he returned to his native country when a premature death tore him from his literary labours, just as he was preparing a grammar of hieroglyphics, the publication of which is still anxiously expected.

It is some consolation to know that those exertions which Mr. Champollion began, in conjunction with a friend every way fitted for the task, Rosellini, professor of the oriental languages at Pisa, are still continued by that gentleman. This great work, so far as we can judge from the parts already finished, and now lying before us, could scarcely have been confided to abler hands. The plan on which the collection is made is deserving of much praise; it is divided into several sections, the subjects being arranged under separate heads; the first contains the historical part, the lives of the kings; the others treat of public and private life, arts and sciences, and the religion of the Egyptians. The author, who is much opposed to all hypotheses, and who has well studied the language and writing of this

nation, strictly confines himself to the explanation of its monuments^a.

Of the entire work, *I monumenti del' Egitto e della Nubia, designati ed illustrati dal dottore Ippolito Rosellini*, the first part, in two volumes, *I monumenti storici*, has only as yet appeared. It is accompanied by a superb atlas, containing portraits of the Pharaohs, and the inscriptions belonging to them.

It is hardly necessary, I think, for me to mention that I do not purpose to enter upon a detailed criticism of this work, for which, indeed, I do not possess the means. My object is simply to point out in what particulars, and how far, the principal results of these investigations confirm or contradict the opinions I have adopted in my works. It must not, however, be forgotten that the two volumes published by M. Rosellini only treat of the chronological history of the kings and various dynasties of Egypt; and say nothing, as yet, upon politics or commerce, the objects to which I have more particularly turned my attention. But before I enter upon this subject there is one point to which I feel bound to direct the attention of the reader, even though I should thereby incur the charge of presumption for calling in question the opinions of men who have seen the country and examined its monuments upon the spot.

The history of Egypt, arranged according to

^a Introduzione, p. x.

the thirty-one incomplete dynasties of Manetho, is divided, as regards its sources, into two parts or periods; one comprising the seventeen first dynasties, the other the eighteenth to the thirty-first. It is only of this latter period, about eighteen hundred years before the Christian era, that any monuments remain, or, if any, they are mere fragmentary morsels of very trifling importance. It consequently follows, that, for this period, Champollion and Rosellini are scarcely more advanced than other historians who have not visited Egypt; and this dispenses me from dwelling upon those few points in this portion of history in which I do not altogether agree with those learned orientalists. In the second period, in which they find monuments and inscriptions to consult and interpret, the case is altogether different.

1. *On the origin of the Egyptian nation.*

I have represented the Egyptians as an aboriginal people of Africa, and as descended from the same race as the present inhabitants of Nubia. This race insensibly spread itself by colonies along the valley of the Nile into Lower Egypt. I have confined this assertion, however, to the superior castes of priests and warriors; since it appears, according to the relations of the Egyptians themselves, that it was a sacerdotal caste, emigrated from Meroë, which, by the aid of its religion and superior intelligence, founded

a dominion over the nomad tribes, the primitive inhabitants of Egypt. Such is also the opinion of Rosellini, although he does not mention Meroë, but only cites the generic name of Ethiopia^b. I shall show, a little further on, that Champollion also held the same opinion, which is still further strengthened by the statements of other travellers quoted in my work.

2. *Foundation of the first States of Egypt.*

These were formed, according to my representations, by colonies transported from Meroë into Upper Egypt and along the valley of the Nile. My grounds for this opinion are the ordinary propagation of nations in high antiquity, coupled with what Herodotus^c tells us of this custom among the priests of Meroë, and of some of those colonies to which oracles were attached, as Thebes in Egypt, Ammonium in the Libyan desert, and even Dodona in Greece, which the Thebain priests claimed to have founded. I have shown also that there is still found upon the site of ancient Meroë, a little sacerdotal state, that of Damer, devoted at once to commerce and oracles^d.

Every one, moreover, must perceive, as I have frequently proved as regards Egypt, that it is in the nature of these colonies that the central point of each of them should consist of a sanctuary or temple.

^b ROSELLINI, ii. p. 323.

^c HERODOTUS, ii. 29.

^d See vol. i. p. 419, of this work.

Champollion has laid down his notions respecting the first population and civilisation of Egypt, in a memoir addressed to the viceroy, before his departure for France^e. According to this, first, Egypt was peopled by colonies from Abyssinia and Sennaar, (Meroë); secondly, the Egyptians derive their origin from the race of Berbers, or Nubians; thirdly, these Berbers arrived in Egypt as nomades, entirely ignorant of the arts and sciences; fourthly, in taking to agriculture and a settled form of life, they laid the foundation of cities which in course of time became great and powerful; fifthly, the most ancient of which cities were Thebes, Edfou, and others; Middle and Lower Egypt were not inhabited till a later period; sixthly, in the beginning, the Egyptians were governed by priests, each canton having its pontiff, who had other priests under his command, and who reigned in the name of some deity.

The sacerdotal caste was overthrown by the military caste, whose chiefs raised themselves to the rank of kings about 2,200 years B. C., the epoch at which the regular establishment of royal power took place in Egypt.

The points upon which Champollion and myself agree and differ may now very easily be seen. I cannot think that the first tribes which came into Egypt, founding colonies and building temples, could be nomades altogether so bar-

^e Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie, p. 432—440.

barous. But, fully believing that the germs of civilisation were brought from Meroë into Egypt with the worship of Ammon, I am still willing to admit that it did not grow and flourish until it was brought into this latter country.

With regard to the victory gained by the warriors over the priests, not only is this fact destitute of proof, but it is refuted by all the following history, in which the sacerdotal caste always holds the highest place. If, at the commencement, these pontiffs reigned in the various districts of Egypt in the name of some deity, and not of a king, they were themselves naturally princes or kings, even though they did not bear that title. Hence also it follows that their authority was connected with the temples. It will consequently be seen that with little more than the difference of title this agrees with my assertions; for these cantons, placed with their capitals and temples under the dominion of independent pontiffs, formed, in reality, so many little states. Champollion himself would undoubtedly have come to this conclusion, if he had been permitted to examine, leisurely and seriously, the notions which he only hastily put together in the shape of a memoir.

3. Of the seventeen first Dynasties of Manetho.

I must here refer my readers to the comparison which I have already made in my third Appendix of the dynasties of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Manetho. Neither Herodotus nor Dio-

dorus distinguishes these dynasties ; one merely observes that, according to a list given him by the priests, (probably of Memphis,) the first king Menes, had three hundred and thirty successors, of which they knew only the names, because they had left no monuments. It is only in setting out from Moeris and Sesostris that he gives the names of some few kings, but certainly not a consecutive list, although the priests might have given it to him as such. Diodorus, it is true, mentions some other kings, but he does not determine the number. It follows, therefore, that it is quite impossible to found upon the dynasties of these two authors any exact chronology. But Manetho, in his work, of which we possess only a few incomplete extracts, classes in chronological order the thirty-one dynasties preceding the conquest of Alexander. The question, then, which here presents itself is, whether the first sixteen or seventeen dynasties succeeded each other regularly, or, whether several of them reigned over various states at the same time in different parts of Egypt, in the cities whose names they bear ?

This question has been solved in various ways by historians ; the majority, however, have declared for the latter opinion, and I have enlisted into their ranks for the reasons which I have set forth in the body of this work, without, however, meaning to assert that all these dynasties taken separately were contemporaneous with one another.

It is known that in very early times sacerdotal colonies did, aided by oracles and a common worship, spread civilisation among the natives of Egypt. Antiquity, moreover, offers us several examples of this same kind of civilisation among other nations, and particularly among the Phœnicians and Greeks. But I by no means intend to maintain that these various little states of Egypt remained independent of each other; on the contrary, it appears to me very probable that they were obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of Thebes and Memphis. Thus it may have happened that the Pharoah who assigned dwellings to Jacob and his family in Lower Egypt, and who himself probably held his court at Memphis, was also master of Upper Egypt. It may have happened even, that before the invasion of the Hyksos, the Pharoahs of the seventeenth dynasty might have reigned over all the valley of the Nile. Possessing, however, no historical documents of this period, it is quite impossible for us to decide this question. It is only upon the expulsion of the Hyksos, and with the eighteenth dynasty, that all these Egyptian states became reunited into one single empire. Independent of all the reasons already brought forward, it seems beyond the limits of probability, that more than three hundred kings of divers families should have regularly succeeded during a long course of ages. It is also difficult to conceive that Egypt was all at once formed into a large empire, especially as the occupation of the

southern parts was not effected by conquest but by a succession of migrations.

The contrary opinion, namely, that the list of the kings of Egypt from Menes downwards, the pretended founder of the first dynasty, suffered no interruption, is adopted by M. Rosellini, who has devoted a separate chapter of his work to the consideration and establishment of this notion^f. His chief support is the authority of Manetho, whom, he asserts, must be understood in this sense. This, however, is debateable ground, as Eusebius lets drop, at least under the form of a conjecture^g, the opposite opinion, and as the passage cited from Manetho may be made to help the proof of the contrary. But even admitting that such was really Manetho's opinion, still there is the question to be considered, how did he arrive at this opinion? The Egyptian priests, anxious to give to their state a high antiquity, had already cited to Herodotus and Diodorus catalogues of kings, certainly not following one another in chronological order. Might not, then, the same thing have taken place with regard to the lists furnished to Manetho^h?

Among the Hindoos the names of kings are often thus mentioned as sovereigns of all India, when the great epics prove that this country contained several small statesⁱ.

^f ROSELLINI, vol. i. p. 98—111.

^g See p. 101, of this volume, note 4.

^h Ibid. note 5.

ⁱ See HEEREN'S *Researches, India*, p. 190, sqq.

I must leave the reader to judge between the opinion defended by M. Rosellini and mine, founded upon incontestible proofs deduced from historical inquiries. Fortunately all this has no bearing upon the question respecting the brilliant period of Egypt, to which the monuments direct us. Here M. Rosellini and myself do not differ except in a few particulars of little importance. With regard to the question whether the Sesostris of Herodotus is the Ramesses of the eighteenth dynasty, as M. Rosellini believes^k, or Ramesses IV., Sethos, the first of the nineteenth, as M. Champollion supposes, I will not attempt to decide, for in all these sacerdotal traditions Sesostris is always mentioned as the great king of the Egyptians, to whom is necessarily attributed the exploits of sundry Pharaohs.

Not having attempted a history of Egypt, and chronological investigations, in the strict sense of the word, forming no part of my plan, I shall not enter upon a discussion of this subject with M. Rosellini. I have strictly confined myself to the establishing of certain general epochs, so as to determine pretty nearly the period in which the great monuments were built under the Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. This period I have placed between 1700 and 1200 B. C. According to M. Rosellini the eighteenth dynasty began in the year B. C. 1822, and ended in 1474; but the nineteenth reaches

^k ROSELLINI, vol. i. p. 266.

down to B. C. 1270. I will admit willingly that the eighteenth dynasty goes back a century earlier than what I have placed it at, since we are both agreed that the most brilliant period of these two dynasties fell between 1800 and 1200. With regard to the great uncertainty which prevails in the chronological classification of the fifteen or sixteen first dynasties, M. Rosellini has allowed himself such an ample latitude in his explanation of them, that the subject seems to me exhausted¹.

4. *On the origin of the Hyksos.*

The Hyksos, who inundated a great part of Egypt in the time of the sixteenth and seventeenth dynasty, and who established themselves in Middle and Lower Egypt, were nomades. In this fact M. Rosellini agrees with me, which, moreover, is placed beyond a doubt by their being represented on the monuments with their flocks and herds. All are very naturally led to consider them as being the nomad tribes dwelling on the borders of Egypt. I have believed that I could recognise in them the Arab race, characterised by their beards, their long garments, and clear complexion; an opinion strongly corroborated by the testimony of Josephus^m: M. Rosellini, on the contrary, takes them for

¹ ROSELLINI, vol. i. p. 95.

^m Josephus, p. 1040: *Τινὲς λέγουσι αὐτοὺς Ἀραβας εἶναι*. Syncellus calls them Phœnicians, a denomination which is applied to the neighbouring tribes of Syria and Arabia.

Scythians; although we cannot comprise under this vague denomination any but the nomad tribes of the Mongol race of Central Asia. But none of the given statements will apply to any of these tribes; besides which there is nothing whatever to show that they had ever thus early undertaken any expeditions for conquest so far distant. M. Rosellini founds his assertion upon no other proof than upon an etymology, according to which he makes the name these tribes went by in Egypt to have been *Scios*, which appears to him the same as *Scythes*, and which signifies *destroyers*ⁿ. I dare not enter upon this question, but I must confess that I cannot renounce my own explanation.

ⁿ ROSELLINI, vol. i. p. 172—177.

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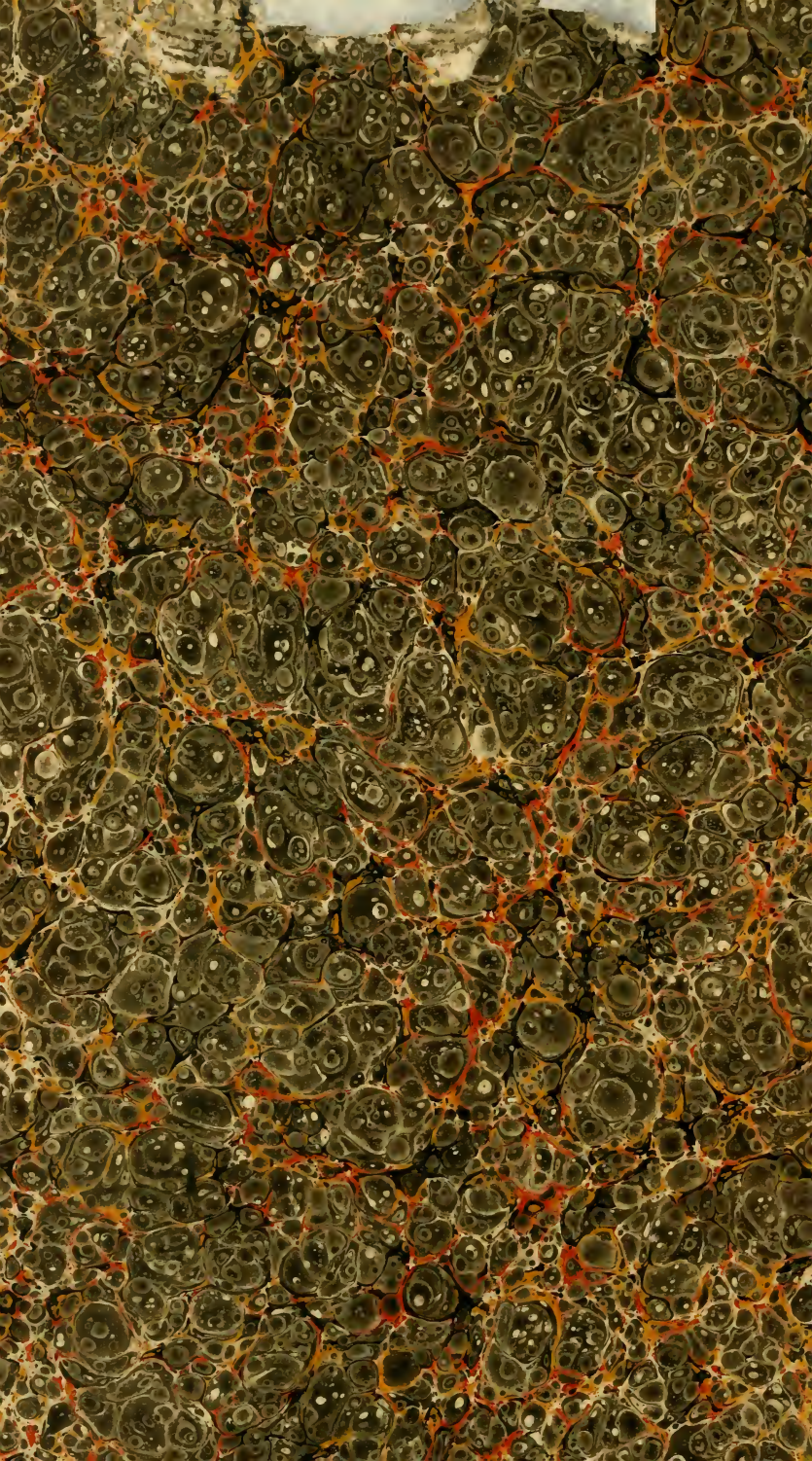
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